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- ART. I. — 1. *The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice.* By W. GOODE, M. A. 2d edition. London: 1853.
2. *Discourses on the Controversies of the Day.* By W. F. HOOK, D. D. London: 1853.
3. *Means of Unity.* A Charge by Archdeacon HARE. London: 1847.

THE three writers whose works are named above may be taken as representatives of the three great parties which divide the Church of England. These parties have always existed, under different phases, and with more or less of life. But they have been brought into sharper contrast, and have learned better to understand themselves and one another, during the controversies which have agitated the last twenty years. They are commonly called the Low Church, the High Church, and the Broad Church parties; but such an enumeration is the result of an incomplete analysis. On a closer inspection, it is seen that each of these is again triply subdivided into sections which exemplify respectively the exaggeration, the stagnation, and the normal development of the principles which they severally claim to represent. And these subdivisions, though popularly confounded with each other, differ amongst themselves, as much as the delirium of fever, or the torpor of old age differs from the calm circulation of health.

It would be an interesting task to trace these parties historically, from the Reformation downwards; to show how far they

may be regarded as continuous branches, how far as modern revivals, how far as new modifications of ancient schools of opinion. But this would require researches far too extensive for our limits. We only propose at present to examine the divisions of the existing Church of England, and to study their forms and boundaries, not as they would be coloured in a chronological chart, but as they would be laid down in an actual survey.

Of the parties named above, the most influential in recent times has been that which is termed Low Church by its adversaries, and Evangelical by its adherents. It originated in the revival of religious life, which marked the close of the last and the beginning of the present century,—the reaction against a long period of frozen lifelessness. The thermometer of the Church of England sank to its lowest point in the first thirty years of the reign of George III. Butler and Berkeley were dead, and had left no successors. The last of that generation of clergymen which had founded the Societies for ‘the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge,’ and the ‘Propagation of the Gospel,’ were now in their graves. Unbelieving bishops and a slothful clergy had succeeded in driving from the Church the faith and zeal of Methodism which Wesley had organised within her pale. The spirit was expelled, and the dregs remained. That was the age when jobbery and corruption, long supreme in the State, had triumphed over the virtue of the Church; when the money-changers not only entered the temple, but drove out the worshippers; when ecclesiastical revenues were monopolised by wealthy pluralists; when the name of *curate* lost its legal meaning, and instead of denoting the incumbent of a benefice, came to signify the deputy of an absentee; when church services were discontinued; when university exercises were turned into a farce; when the holders of ancient endowments vied with one another in evading the intentions of their founders; when everywhere the lowest ends were most openly avowed, and the lowest means adopted for effecting them. In their preaching, nineteen clergymen out of twenty carefully abstained from dwelling upon Christian doctrines. Such topics exposed the preacher to the charge of fanaticism. Even the calm and sober Crabbe, who certainly never erred from excess of zeal, was stigmatised in those days by his brethren as a ‘Methodist,’ because he introduced into his sermons the motives of future reward and punishment. An orthodox clergyman (they said) should be content to show his people the worldly advantage of good conduct, and to leave heaven and hell to the ranters. Nor can we wonder that such

should have been the notions of country parsons, when, even by those who passed for the supreme arbiters of orthodoxy and taste, the vapid rhetoric of Blair was thought the highest standard of Christian exhortation.

At last, this age of stagnation was ended by that great convulsion which startled Europe from its slumber. The triumph of Atheism in France restored Christianity to England. Faith revived in the tempest; the solemn time woke solemn thoughts; and forgotten truths were preached to eager hearers, by an ever increasing band of zealous men, whose one desire was to rekindle in the hearts of others that belief which filled their own, in the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel. These doctrines had hitherto been rather tacitly ignored than openly contradicted. The Articles were subscribed by those who disbelieved* them, as 'Articles of Peace,' to use the fashionable euphemism; but by most they were neither believed nor disbelieved. The mass of the clergy troubled not their souls with theological difficulties, but hunted and tumbled peacefully with the squirearchy. And now, when such doctrines as Human Corruption and the Divine Atonement were prominently brought forward, they were received by the majority with a storm of opposition. The aspect of the struggle which ensued is most anomalous. Truths embodied in every formulary of the Church, enforced in her homilies, and stereotyped in her liturgy, were assailed as heretical novelties by her ministers. Yet they were compelled, Sunday after Sunday, to affirm in their reading-desk what they contradicted in their pulpit. Though they denied human corruption in the sermon, they were forced in the prayer to acknowledge that all mankind were 'tied and bound by the chain of their sins;' though they denounced as fanatical all mention of the Atonement, they were compelled to speak of it themselves, not in their own words but in the words of the Universal Church, with the deepest pathos and the most enthusiastic love. Such inconsistency was too glaring not to be felt, even by the dullest: and it gave an overwhelming superiority in argument to the assailing party. Thus their triumph was more rapid and complete than is usual in theological controversies. In less than twenty years the original battle-field was won, and the enemy may be said to have surrendered at discretion. Thenceforward, scarcely a clergyman was to be found in England who preached

* Paley, in his defence of the Feathers' Tavern petitioners in 1772, states it as an admitted fact that the only persons who then believed the Articles were the Methodists, who were refused ordination by the Bishops.

against the doctrine of the creeds. The faith of the Church was restored to the level of her formularies. But, meanwhile, the combatants who had won the victory were no longer united under a single standard; or rather the banner of the cross, under which they fought, was seen to wave over the encampments of three separate armies. And each of these was more or less recruited, and its character more or less altered, by the enrolment among its troops of a portion of the conquered enemy.

From this period the Evangelical party began to assume the form which it still retains. At first it had comprehended many different shades of theological opinion. All religious men had been classed together by their opponents as enthusiasts, fanatics, and Methodists, and had agreed to forget their minor differences in their essential agreement. But when the great truths of Christianity were no longer denied within the Church, the maintenance of them ceased to be a distinctive badge of fellowship; and other secondary doctrines assumed greater importance, as forming the specific creed of the majority of those who had hitherto been contented with a more catholic bond of union. Of the tenets which then became, and have since continued, the watchwords of the Evangelical camp, the most conspicuous were the two following; first, '*the universal necessity of conversion,*' and secondly, '*justification by faith.*' A third was added, to which subsequent controversy gave more than its original prominence, namely, '*the sole authority of Scripture as the rule of faith.*'

Each of these doctrines may be held and taught in two ways; either as a living principle of action, or as the cornerstone of a technical system. Thus, '*the necessity of conversion,*' in the mouths of some who preach it, means that the selfishness of man's earthly nature must be superseded by the strength of a diviner life, before his actions can possess any spiritual worth; in the mouths of others, it means that every individual must experience, on a particular day and hour, certain prescribed sensations, in a defined order. Again, '*justification by faith*' may be an expression of the truth, that peace and holiness must be derived from conscious union with a present Saviour, and can never flow from a routine of outward observances; or, on the other hand, it may be turned into the scholastic expression of a distinction without a difference. So '*the sole authority of Scripture*' may symbolise the sacred duty of private judgment, involving the necessity of personal religion; or it may be the mere negation of ecclesiastical authority. Moreover, besides this difference in the mode of apprehending and enforcing these

doctrines, there is a farther difference in the results deducible from them. If either be taken as the basis of a system of speculation, it may be made, by an apparently logical train of argument, to evolve extravagant consequences. And these consequences will be embraced by a certain order of minds, whose creed will be the 'exaggeration' of Evangelicalism, to which we shall presently return.

The old Evangelical party, the party of Milner, Martyn, and Wilberforce, has for the most part taught its characteristic tenets in their practical and positive, not in their controversial and negative aspect. Accordingly, it has been singularly fruitful in good, both public and private, among rich and poor, to England and to the world. Those great acts of national morality, which will give an abiding glory to the present century, were all either originated or carried by this party in the Church. Its representatives in Parliament, Wilberforce, Stephen, Thornton, Buxton, and their coadjutors, successively led the van of philanthropic progress, and raised the tone of the public conscience. To them is due the suppression of the slave trade in the last generation, to them the abolition of slavery in the present. The reform of prison discipline was effected by their efforts, the criminal law was robbed of its bloodthirsty severity by their aid.* To their benevolent agitation it is owing that Hindoo widows are no longer burnt alive, and that the natives of the most distant and barbarous colonies know that they will not appeal in vain to English sympathy against English oppression. In more recent times the population of our factories and our mines may thank the exertions of another Evangelical champion, for the investigation into their sufferings, and the improvement in their condition. Even the outcasts of society, neglected and despaired of by others, have been won to civilisation by the untiring benevolence of the same party, and the same leader, the establishers, though not the inventors, of 'Ragged Schools.' Others have declaimed more copiously on the diseases of the body politic, and the regeneration of society. But while such men have only talked, these single-minded Christians have worked; doing what they could, and the best they knew, to stop visible and pressing evils; while their depreciators content themselves with idly proclaiming that faith is dead, and worship obsolete.

But while they have devoted themselves thus zealously to

* Without the aid of the Evangelical party, and their out-of-doors agitation, the efforts of Romilly and Mackintosh might have remained fruitless.

philanthropic objects, the members of this party have not neglected to labour for ends more exclusively religious. Convinced of our national responsibility to the heathen populations with which our commerce brought us into contact, they inaugurated the present century with the foundation of the 'Church Missionary Society.' That Society now maintains about 2000 ministers and teachers, of whom 200 are ordained, and has established more than 100 stations, scattered over the world. Centres of religious truth and of civilisation are thus fixed in the midst of heathendom, which cannot fail to produce results far greater than anything, which they have hitherto effected. Yet the visible fruits already garnered would well repay the labour. For, not to mention the converted towns on the coast of Africa, whole districts of Southern India have embraced the faith; and the native population of New Zealand (spread over a territory as large as England) has been reclaimed from cannibalism, and added to the Church. About the same time, the same party were chiefly instrumental in establishing the 'Bible Society,' which in the course of the last half century, has translated the Scriptures into 148 languages, and circulated forty-three millions of copies. Besides this it has so greatly reduced the price of the English Bible, as to bring it within the reach of the poorest labourer. Nor is it to be reckoned the least merit of this body, that it has promoted Christian charity by forming a bond of union between all sects of Protestants.*

The conspicuous position occupied by these societies, and their striking results, have eclipsed in the public view the more domestic efforts of their supporters; and the Low Church party has been accused of neglecting nearer duties, for the more exciting pursuit of evangelising the antipodes. Yet the charge is obviously unfounded; for the very men who were most energetic in their endeavours to christianise the world, were also the authors of every scheme devised in the present century for christianising England. They were the first to call attention to the fact, that our population had outgrown the religious machinery provided by the existing parochial system of the Church. They endeavoured from the beginning, so far as the defective state of the law allowed them, to supply this growing population with the means of worship. The first Diocesan Church Building

* We wish that we were not obliged to confess that this last merit of the Bible Society is too often cancelled by the uncharitable abuse of Roman Catholics, which sometimes forms a main topic at its meetings.

Society was founded by Archbishop Sumner, soon after he became Bishop of Chester*; and during his episcopate in that diocese, he consecrated more than 200 new churches. At a still earlier period, Mr. Simeon of Cambridge had spent his whole private fortune in an effort to meet the same evil by a different method. He saw that in many of our great towns, myriads were under the pastoral charge of a single clergyman. In such a position he knew that the slothful found ample excuse for doing nothing; but he knew also that the zealous might do much; and that the very sight of a clergyman devoting himself to his work under such difficulties would win co-operation. Acting on this view he purchased the advowsons of many such livings, and vested them in trustees. The inhabitants of Bath, Clifton, Bradford, and many other places similarly situated, have been thus supplied with a body of laborious ministers; and their improved condition attests the wisdom of the plan.

With the same end in view, the same party founded the 'Pastoral Aid Society' in 1836. It now supports more than 300 additional clergymen (besides above 100 lay assistants), ministering to a population of nearly three million souls. Again, at a still later period, they have attempted to reach those godless multitudes who, though within 'the sound of the church-going bell,' are far beyond the sphere of its attraction. With this purpose they have instituted a new ecclesiastical order, under the name of 'Scripture Readers,' drawn from the same class of society as those to whom they are sent. These lay Evangelists are often able to penetrate where a clergyman's visit would be repelled; and sometimes their simple earnestness triumphs over the logic of Tom Paine and the rhetoric of the Sunday newspaper, and wins back family after family of baptized heathens to the pale of Christendom.

These are some of the objects effected by the collective exertions of the Evangelical body. But the work they have done is not to be measured by these public undertakings. They have been still more extensively useful by their private efforts, each in his own parish going about doing good, healing the sick, and preaching the Gospel to the poor. It has been by such silent labours that the profound darkness in which the English peasantry were enveloped at the beginning of the century† has been gra-

* The General Church Building Society was founded by Sir T. Acland, Lord Kenyon, and others, ten years earlier, in 1818; but this is supported by public collections under Queen's Letters, not by private efforts.

† See, for example, Hannah More's account of the state of the Somersetshire peasantry, when she began to establish schools among

dually dissipated. They were the establishers of Sunday Schools, of Infant Schools, and Lending Libraries. By weekly lectures in the sequestered hamlets of their parishes, they brought the teaching of the Church to the door of the most distant cottage. They promoted benefit societies and clothing clubs, and all the manifold machinery of parochial benevolence. And by always residing on their preferment, they brought the civilising influence of a resident gentry to bear upon many a village, which had been destitute of that advantage for several generations.

Unhappily, the rapid growth of the towns outstripped their efforts, and therefore the results effected have been wholly inadequate to the necessities of the time. Yet here, too, they did their best; and they were long the only party in the Church which attempted to do anything. By the institution of 'Dis-trict Visitors,' they have established the only method of parochial organisation which can enable a clergyman to become the ministering pastor of congregated myriads. Moreover, they have sought out the sailors on our docks, and the diggers on our railways, and gathered them together for worship. And they have not hesitated to preach in filthy courts and alleys, the haunts of vice and infamy, to audiences which could not be tempted to listen under any roof but the sky.*

It is true, that in our own times, these various means of good are pursued with equal zeal by other parties in the Church; yet we must not on that account forget the debt of gratitude due to their originators. It is often said, indeed, that the Evangelical body are no longer what they were forty years ago; that they have lost their first love, and ceased to do their first works. This charge is perhaps not altogether groundless, for their creed has now become an hereditary system, which must often be adopted more from habit than conviction. Yet if we keep in mind the distinction to be drawn between genuine 'Evangelicalism' and its two degradations (the exaggerated and the stagnant), we shall find that the original type still contributes largely and healthily to the religious element of our national life. We have already

them. In reading it, one can scarcely believe that such barbarism could have existed in England only fifty years ago. It is true that the 'Christian Knowledge Society,' at the beginning of the 18th century, made some noble efforts in the same direction, and continued to do all that was done at all for the religious education of the people till recent times. But after the middle of last century, it had fallen into languor and decrepitude, from which it did not revive till after the beginning of the present.

* This open-air preaching has been lately tried with great success by some of the clergy in our large towns, especially at Liverpool.

given sufficient proof of its continuous activity in public matters. In the more important sphere of private duty it is less easy to cite examples, which could not be mentioned without violating the modesty of unostentatious merit in secluded parsonages. But we imagine that most of our readers can supply examples for themselves, by looking round among the clergy of their neighbourhood. Such pastors may not perhaps be men of the most comprehensive understanding; not the fittest teachers for inquiring minds, nor qualified to refute the learned infidelity of Strauss or Newman. But upon the middle and lower ranks of their parishioners, they often have a stronger influence than their more intellectual brethren. The attraction of their personal character, shown forth in a daily life of self-sacrificing love, gradually wins many to righteousness, and turns the hearts of the disobedient to the wisdom of the just. The biographies of two such men, Hamilton Forsyth and Spencer Thornton, have recently been published, and have passed through several editions. They both died before middle age, but were no otherwise distinguished from hundreds of their fellows. They gave themselves to the work of their calling, with no great abilities and no public notice. Yet those who study the narrative of their lives will see how much they did, by the mere force of unquestionable sincerity and personal holiness, during the short time in which they were permitted to serve their generation. A third biography, equally recent and equally popular with the above (that of Mr. Fox the Missionary), represents an adherent of the same theological school, but of a less ordinary type. While a school-boy at Rugby, he devoted himself in heart to the work of converting the heathen. When he had completed his education at Oxford, he carried this purpose into execution. Southern India was the scene of his ministrations; and under that burning sun in a few years of too eager labours he wore out a strong constitution, and came home to die. Yet his life was not thrown away, nor do such martyrs ever sacrifice themselves in vain. In them is still fulfilled that which was said of old, *semen est sanguis christianorum*. For one who thus falls, many spring up to take his place. Henry Fox, himself the follower of Henry Martyn, has been already followed by other academic students like-minded with himself.*

But there is no need to dwell on the merits of the dead; nor to violate the modesty of private station, in order to disprove the

* The readers of Dr. Arnold's life will remember how one of his 'evangelical' friends renounced the comforts of an Oxford fellowship to preach the Gospel on the shores of the Carnatic.

assertion that the party of Wilberforce, Cecil, and Simeon is effete. The notion is sufficiently confuted by living examples in the most conspicuous positions. One only we will mention, as a type of his class. Dr. Perry, now Bishop of Melbourne, began his career by obtaining the highest honours which Cambridge can bestow. He was the Senior Wrangler of his year, and afterwards obtained a Fellowship of Trinity, and resided for some years in his College chambers. In that luxurious seat of learning he devoted himself, not to the amusements of literary leisure, but to alleviating the sufferings and caring for the spiritual interests of the destitute and wretched. Barnwell, a great suburb of Cambridge, had recently sprung up, and then contained 10,000 inhabitants, almost exclusively of the very lowest class, and a large proportion of them supported by thieving and prostitution. For this population there was one small church, which held 200 people, and was endowed with 40*l.* per annum. The incumbent (a man of the old school, now deceased,) utterly neglected his flock, which was in a state of as hopeless degradation, spiritual, moral, and physical, as it is possible to imagine. Dr. Perry's first step was to purchase the advowson of this living, and to institute a working clergyman. He next built two large churches, and divided the overgrown cure into two ecclesiastical districts, each provided with its parochial schools, its district visitors, and other appliances of a well organised parish. The second of these he took under his own pastoral charge, and refused, for its sake, one of the best livings in the diocese, which the Bishop offered him as a testimonial of his eminent services to the Church. Soon afterwards, the colonial bishopric of Melbourne was pressed upon him by the Government of the day. Dr. Perry was already a man of established reputation and independent fortune. He had everything to lose, and nothing to gain, by accepting the offer. Had he acted on selfish principles, he must have refused to give up the society of Cambridge, the comforts of English civilisation, and the reverential attachment of grateful parishioners, and to exchange all this for perpetual exile and disheartening labour, far from the seats of all the Muses, among the Mammon-seeking and Jacobinical population of a new colony. But he was not a man to hesitate, when duty was on one side and inclination on the other. All earthly motives urged him to remain; but he heard a voice which called him to build up the Church of Christ, and graft upon the vigorous growth of a new nation the germs of a higher life. That call he obeyed, and went forth in the spirit of the patriarchs, '*not knowing whither he went.*' And now, from time to time, come

the tidings of his steadfast faith and patience triumphing over difficulty and prejudice; his unwearied activity; his confirmations in distant settlements; his visitations through the bush; and, latterly, of the personal hardships to which he has been subjected, by the sudden metamorphosis of his diocese into the gold mine of the world. The last intelligence we have seen of him was given by a picture in an Illustrated Newspaper, which represented him preaching on the fork of a tree to the gold-diggers of Mount Alexander. That picture must have touched the hearts of many of his Cambridge pupils, as they remembered the happy English home which he had abandoned for such a destiny. Who shall say that faith is dead, when such fruits of faith are living? Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?

We deny, then, that the old Evangelical party is effete, while it still brings forth children so worthy of their spiritual ancestry. Yet at the same time we must confess that its strength and vigour is relatively if not positively diminished, and that its hold upon the public is less than it was in the last generation. This may be accounted for partly by a certain narrowness and rigidity in its teaching, which has increased as its traditional doctrines have become more fixed and technical; partly by the almost inevitable tendency of the human mind, while contending for truth, to insist that her shield must have both sides of the same colour; partly also from that neglect of theological learning*, with which all parties in the Church are chargeable, and for which the blame must rest, not on one or the other party, but on the universities and the nation. This neglect, and especially the want of critical study of the text of

* The Evangelical party has been too much devoted to practical work to think much of Literature. Yet its chief literary organ, the 'Christian Observer' was at first very ably conducted by Mr. Zachary Macaulay. And it has now, after a long interregnum of dullness, recovered something of its original character. At present, moreover, the party may boast of numbering among its members one of the most learned writers of the day, Mr. Goode, who in his own line of controversial theology is probably unsurpassed. One reason of the neglect of learning in the Church, is that such men are not encouraged by Cathedral Preferment, which would set them free from parochial cares to follow their true vocation. It is a singular and not a creditable fact, that Mr. Goode and Mr. Horne, two of the most eminent contributors to our scanty stock of theological literature, should both be suffered to remain incumbents of London parishes. We see, indeed, from the Clergy List, that Mr. Horne does hold a Prebend of St. Paul's, one of that class called the *laudatur et alget* Prebends, worth eleven pounds per annum. The Canonries are in the gift of the Crown.

Scripture, has paved the way for the extravagances of the extreme party which calls itself by the same name, and is by the public often confounded with the old Evangelical body. The disgust but too justly excited by the eccentric offspring, has alienated some reasonable men from the sober-minded parent. This exaggeration of Evangelicalism, sometimes called the Puritan, sometimes, from its chief organ, the Recordite party, we shall now endeavour to describe.

Its distinctive doctrines are derived from those of the Evangelical school, by pushing each of these to extravagant consequences. Thus from *justification by faith* the Recordite infers the worthlessness of morality; on *conversion by grace* he builds a system of predestinarian fatalism; from *the sole supremacy of Scripture* he derives the dogma of verbal inspiration. Under the first head, he teaches not only that faith is the sole source of virtue, but that its genuineness must be tested not by the works but by the feelings; and faith he defines, not as a spiritual affection, but as an assent to the single proposition 'I believe that I am saved.' This, at least, is the definition adopted by the more logical members of the party; but the majority, repelled by its monstrous consequences, substitute a circular definition, which makes faith to be 'the belief that one 'is justified by faith.' True believers are those only who can pronounce the Shibboleth of the sect; and this is the sufficient criterion of conversion. Hence results that worst of formalisms, the substitution of a form of words for the worship of spirit and of truth. Even at the hour of death, when other delusions are dispelled, this reigns triumphant. The dying sinner, if his blanched lips can mutter the prescriptive phrase, is dismissed undoubtingly to paradise. The dying saint, if he has not rehearsed the formula, is consigned to an uncovenanted doom. No matter though his life have been spent in the labours of an apostle—though his last words breathe trust and love—his case is considered doubtful, if not desperate, if he has not recited the magic words 'I believe that I am justified by faith.' To prove that this is no exaggerated view, we quote the judgment of the party, (as expressed in their chief organ) on the death-bed of Arnold. 'Did he' (says the critic) 'even 'in death, rest intelligently and clearly on that fundamental 'doctrine, [justification by faith] on which Luther declared the 'Gospel turned, and whosoever denieth which is not to be 'accounted, in the words of Cranmer, for a Christian man. 'WE CANNOT SAY. IT DOES NOT APPEAR.'* To appreciate

* 'Record,' Feb. 3. 1845. The article goes on to express a charitable hope that Arnold's faith secured his personal safety. But con-

fully the superstition of this, it must be remembered that Arnold was a conspicuous defender of the doctrine of justification by faith; so that the doubt of his salvation is caused by his failing to go through a certain verbal form in his dying agonies. What heathen incantation, what negro fetish-worship, can be more unspiritual than this idolatry of a Shibboleth?

The same formalism which leads to this rigid enforcement of a peculiar phraseology, leads also to a superstitious fear of ethical exhortation. If a preacher of the School ventures to enforce morality at all, he does it in a style the most timid and hesitating; and begins by apologising to his hearers for seeming to limit the freedom of the Gospel, and by explaining that his object is not so much to exhort them to holiness, as to convince them of helplessness. If he begs them to abstain from evil, it is only because the commission of sin will 'cloud the clearness of their assurance.' Moreover, he is careful to destroy all the cogency of his expostulations, by explaining that sin cannot affect the safety of a believer, for 'the sins of believers are forgiven even before their commission.' On the other hand, if a man be not a 'believer,' his virtues are nothing better than 'splendid sins.*' Hence the very ideas of right and wrong have no meaning beyond the limits of the sect; and within its boundaries they would have as little, but that man's conscience is stronger than his logic. Thus the very preachers who proclaim the 'imputed righteousness' of the most sinful believer, seldom proceed to the conclusion of the Antinomian,—'Let us continue in sin that grace may abound.'

The belief in Predestination, which we have mentioned as the second article of their faith, does not indeed belong distinct-

cludes with warning its readers against adopting his opinions lest they should 'perceive, when too late, the truth of the closing words of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, "*then I saw that there was a way to hell even from the gates of heaven, as well as from the city of destruction.*"

* The Recordite party justify this assertion by appealing to the 13th Article, which declares that 'works done before grace have the nature of sin.' But this proposition, if interpreted in the Puritanic sense, would contradict the inspired declaration, that the prayers and alms of the heathen Cornelius were acceptable to God (Acts x. 4. and 35.). The true meaning of the Article is only that Divine Grace and Human Goodness are coextensive; so that where there is no Grace there is no Goodness, and, conversely, that wheresoever there is Goodness there is Grace. Thus the virtues of Socrates are not denied, but only ascribed to their true source. Whereas in the Puritanic view (which unhappily was adopted by some of the continental Reformers) they are denied to be virtues at all; and thus the very foundations of all religious evidence, the axiomatic ideas of morality, are cut away.

ively to them. It is shared by many sects, not only of Christians but of heathens. Greek philosophers and Turkish mollahs have adopted the same solution of the same insoluble problem. It would be the extremest presumption peremptorily to deny the theoretical truth of that solution; nor is it less presumptuous peremptorily to affirm it. The question is left undecided by Scripture, and cannot be decided by Reason. But, whatever may be thought of fatalism as a speculative theory, it is evident (as Butler has taught us) that men must act as if such a theory were false. Hence it would seem to follow that exhortations meant to influence action, should not put it prominently forward.* This rule is systematically violated by the most popular preachers of the Recordite party, who obtrude their own views of these impenetrable mysteries as certain truth, and deduce consequences from them which shock the elementary ideas of morality. They address their hearers as divided into two classes by an impassable, though invisible, line of demarcation. Those on one side are predestined from eternity to salvation; those on the other are doomed before their birth to reprobation.† The 'Church' consists of the former only, though many of them are now living in vice; for they will all, sooner or later, receive that 'effectual calling,' which will irresistibly compel them to come in. The notion of a Visible Church is (according to these preachers) a falsity: all who do not belong to their 'Invisible Church' are without the pale of salvation. Hence their opposition to those parts of the Anglican liturgy which teach that 'all who profess 'and call themselves Christians' are admitted to all the privileges of the Catholic Church.‡ The majority of their fellow-Christians are collectively stigmatised as 'the world which lieth 'in wickedness.' And so great is their horror of this Christian world, that, being compelled in the course of the Sunday Lessons to read the declarations that 'God loved the world,' and that our Lord 'came to save the world,' some of them have been even known to interpolate an explanation on the spot.§

* Archbishop Sumner's work on 'Apostolical Preaching' contains some excellent remonstrances against preaching predestination. If all who profess to look up to him with veneration would follow his advice and example, there would be but few Recordites.

† The word 'reprobation' is however seldom heard; and the doctrine, though always implied, is seldom distinctly preached.

‡ A clergyman of this party in Devonshire was not long since suspended by the Court of Arches for refusing to read the Baptismal service without mutilation.

§ Within the last few years there was a clergyman in Leicestershire who used to read such passages thus: 'God so loved the elect,' 'I came 'not to judge the elect, but to save the elect,' &c.

From the same theory they derive conclusions concerning the Divine attributes which are peculiarly offensive to the human conscience. For this very reason they delight in proclaiming such tenets, because they consider their rejection a proof of man's natural hostility to God. They assert (for example) that the sole object of the Creator and Redeemer was, not to promote the happiness of his creatures, but to increase his own glory. It would be blasphemous to state the consequences of such a view in its bearing on the axiomatic truth that the perfection of man is to be sought in a moral resemblance to God. Hence, also, they infer that it is the highest attainment of Christian grace to delight in contemplating the execution of Divine vengeance on the wicked.*

The third cornerstone of the Recordite creed, is the dogma of 'Verbal Inspiration.' The Bible is regarded, not as a collection of books written by men under Divine guidance, but as a single book, dictated in every word and letter by God himself. This theory, avowedly opposed to the *primâ facie* evidence of Scripture itself, is maintained by the *à priori* argument, that if we once introduce the slightest uncertainty into Scripture, we are left without any sure guide at all; the precise ground on which Romanists defend Papal infallibility. In accordance with this assumption, every casual allusion in Scripture to a fact of history, geology, or astronomy, however unconnected with religion, must be literally and infallibly accurate. By these dogmatists (says Bishop Hall) 'every point of heraldry in the sacred genealogies is made matter of no less than life and death to the soul.'† Hence they are compelled to resort to the most arbitrary and unscrupulous misinterpretations, either violently wresting Scripture to make it accord with facts, or denying facts which they cannot reconcile with Scripture. From the principle which they assume, the condemnation of Galileo for affirming the earth's motion, follows as an inevitable consequence.‡ From

* We were once listening to an eloquent preacher who enforced this doctrine, and quoted the standard illustration of Agag—'We must attain, my brethren, to the same grace with Samuel, who lewed Agag 'in pieces before the Lord;' when a friend at our side whispered, with great energy, 'I *have* attained it, I *have* attained it: I could chop 'the preacher into mince-meat with pleasure.'

† Hall's Occasional Meditations.

‡ The earliest instance we have met with of this theory is mentioned in Montucla's History of Mathematics. When first the true doctrine of the Multiplication of Fractions was taught, a Spanish friar wrote against it, alleging that it was heretical to assert that Multiplication by a Fraction diminished the Multiplicand, because Scripture had

the same premises it is inferred that each book in the Bible is equally valuable to the Christian, and that the only distinction between the Old Testament and the New is their difference of bulk. Hence the Old Testament, containing four times as many pages as the New, should be four times as much studied. We do not know that this proposition has been arithmetically stated by the Recordite School, but it is practically acted on.* By a strange paradox, the very party which in its phraseology most magnifies the Gospel and disparages the Law, practically raises the Mosaic dispensation above the Christian. It is essentially a Judaizing party. The characters on which it dwells most fondly, the ordinances to which it clings most passionately, are the characters and the ordinances of Judaism. Its models of Christian life are the Jewish Patriarchs. Indeed, the religion of some members of this party seems to consist solely in love of Jews and hatred of Papists. Their favourite Society is that which professes to be founded for the Conversion of Israelites to Christianity, but which too often acts as a Propaganda for converting Christians to Judaism.† It spends vast sums in sending emissaries over the country who diffuse Judaic views of Scripture, and proclaim the spiritual inferiority of the Gentile to the Jew. Those glorious prophecies of the restoration of Israel, and the blessedness of the new Jerusalem, which have their fulfilment (according to the teaching of St. Paul) in the destinies of the Christian Church, are applied by these propagandists to the carnal seed of Abraham, to the pawn-brokers of Monmouth Street, and the slop-sellers of St. Giles's. Nay, some of the most eminent leaders of the party seek even to revive the ordinance of circumcision; and their most popular

said 'Increase and multiply,' and thereby had made *Multiplication* equivalent to *Augmentation*. Specimens of modern absurdity, quite equal to this, may be found embedded in that rich conglomerate, the Appendix to the 5th Edition of Professor Sedgwick's 'Discourse on 'the Studies of Cambridge.'

* Good old Mr. Romaine (a Recordite before the Record) came very near the arithmetical statement. His mode of reading the Bible was to begin at the first chapter of Genesis, till he reached the last of Revelations, and then to begin with Genesis again. Thus he read four pages of the old Testament for one of the New.

† The faults of this society are not in its design, but in its management; and we must acknowledge that they are redeemed by one great merit, viz. its co-operation in the establishment of the Jerusalem bishoprick, the most truly catholic deed ever done by the Church of England, whereby she has given the hand of fellowship to the Protestants of Germany on one side, and the Greek, Syrian, and Coptic churches on the other.

writer, the late Charlotte Elizabeth, published a pamphlet addressed to Bishop Alexander (the first English Bishop of Jerusalem), exhorting him to enforce the observance of this rite upon his sons.*

But the most conspicuous example of Judaizing tendencies in the party, is furnished by their Sabbatarian views. In defiance of the clearest expressions of Scripture—in defiance of the universal consent of all foreign churches, Catholic and Protestant—in defiance of the express declarations of the Reformers—but in accordance with the tradition of the Scotch and English Puritans—they teach that the Christian Lord's Day is identical with the Jewish Sabbath. Nay, they require that it should be observed with a stern severity unknown even to the Mosaic ritual. The effect of such an observance upon those who submit to it for conscience' sake, is, we freely own, most beneficial. Nor does it differ materially from that observance of the day which is the highest privilege of the Christian. Those who know how much we need every help to raise our thoughts above the turmoil of the world, will feel thankful that they are permitted to rest from earthly cares and amusements on the Sunday. They will be ready to exclaim with Herbert,—

‘O Day most calm, most bright,
The fruit of this, the next world's bud,
The week were dark but for thy light.’

But the Puritans have always enforced this religious privilege of the advanced Christian, as if it had been a command compulsory upon all men. And they have enforced it, moreover, in its negative and prohibitory aspect; where they could, by penal laws; everywhere by damnatory denunciations. Thousands are thus alienated from piety, by associating it from their earliest childhood with a day of gloom and restriction, imposed upon them by arbitrary force. As one example among a hundred of the method pursued by this party to repel children from religion, we will quote the following hymn ‘for Saturday night,’ from a popular collection of devotional poetry:—

‘Haste, put your playthings all away,
To-morrow is the Sabbath day.

† ‘Israel's Ordinances, a Letter to the Bishop of Jerusalem.’ The Bishop was a Jewish convert, and the substance of the pamphlet is contained in the following paragraph. ‘Call you what we will, my Lord, you are a Jew, a circumcised Jew. My dear Lord, bear with me, while I respectfully and affectionately put once more the query—*why are not your sons also Jews?*’

Come bring to me your Noah's ark,
Your pretty tinkling music-cart.
Because, my love, you must not play,
But holy keep the Sabbath day.

'Bring me your German village, please,
With all its houses, gates, and trees ;
Your waxen doll with eyes of blue,
And all her tea-things bright and new.
Because, you know, you must not play,
But love to keep the Sabbath day.

'Now take your Sunday pictures down,
King David with his harp and crown,
Good little Samuel on his knees,
And many pleasant sights like these.
Because, you know, you must not play,
But love to keep the Sabbath day.'*

To such well-meant coaxing, the child replies bluntly, 'I don't like Sunday pictures, Ma ; I like my doll.' And on being scolded for this, and taunted with the example of Samuel, if it is a very naughty child it exclaims, 'I hate that nasty little Samuel !' Whereupon a whipping terminates the controversy. A somewhat similar poem is sung in many Infant Schools, which should be entitled 'The Infant's Reasons for hating Sunday.' It begins thus :

'We must not play on Sunday ;
* But we may play on Monday,
On Tuesday and on Wednesday,
On Thursday, Friday, Saturday,
Till Sunday comes again.

'We must not laugh on Sunday ;
But we may laugh on Monday,'
&c. &c. (as before).

We may laugh (on Monday) at these absurdities, but the results of such folly are often no laughing matter. The child is father of the man ; and a childhood thus trained too often fathers a manhood of impiety. Yet it is not on those who can be constrained, whether by force or by persuasion, to Sabbath-ise, that the bad effects are most serious. The real sufferers are the working millions, whom Nature, shut out by steam-engine and spinning-jenny during the week, draws forth upon the day of rest, to refresh their lungs with purer air, and their eyes and hearts with gazing on the unspoiled works of their Creator. Religion is too often known to these multitudes in the Puritan form

* 'Rhymes for my Children', by Mrs. Duncan.

alone. They have been taught by their spiritual guides, both Episcopalian and Dissenting, that it is 'Sabbath-breaking' to look upon green fields and running brooks; and that Sabbath-breaking is as great a sin as drunkenness or fornication. Thus their Sunday pleasures, in themselves so innocent, are turned into guilt. Being placed under the ban of religion, they become reckless of her restraints. As they are Sabbath-breakers already, they think they may as well be drunkards too. And when, upon the wings of steam, they have left the smoky town far behind, they vary their excursions by a visit, not to the rural church (whither, by wiser treatment, they might easily have been won), but to the road-side ale-house. Thus the masses are brutalised and degraded by the attempt to raise them prematurely to a high degree of spiritual advancement.

Such are the main points in the theoretical system of this extreme school. We must remember, however, that a man may agree in some of these opinions, and yet be no genuine Recordite. To make him such, he must combine his creed with the proper amount of ignorance and intolerance, and must enforce it in a damnatory spirit. Of this latter quality a few specimens will suffice, out of the ample supply afforded by the recognised organ of the party. Take the following as a sample of the mode of silencing an opponent: 'Of all this we may say to Mr. Gresley,* as Christian says to Ignorance in Pilgrim's Progress, *the working of which faith, I perceive, poor Ignorance, thou art ignorant of.* As to this person going on to describe the errors of men of Evangelical principles, * * * * the propriety of such criticisms from such a quarter is that of a man blind from his birth discoursing on the ocular mistakes of those who have sight.* In the same spirit the Crystal Palace question is thus settled: 'It is surprising that any animal, with a head of a higher order than a Chimpanzee, should pronounce it innocent to open a place for public worldly amusement on the Sabbath.† The same paper, after lamenting the fact that all English railways run trains on Sunday, denounces the shareholders as follows: 'The consciences of the shareholders and directors appear to be scared. We are tempted to ask, where can such men live? What religion do they profess? Are they Jews? Are they Infidels? Do they ever enter a church.†'

This intolerance, however, proceeds not from a bad heart, but

* Remarks on Mr. Gresley, reprinted from the 'Record' newspaper, p. 18.

† Record, Nov. 19. 1852.

‡ Record, Dec. 6. 1852.

from lack of knowledge and feebleness of mind. Dr. Arnold has justly described their literary organ as 'a true specimen of the party, with their infinitely little minds, disputing about anise and cummin, when heaven and earth are coming together around them.'* And he defines an 'Evangelical' of this class to be 'a good Christian, with a low understanding, a bad education, and ignorance of the world.'† The only objection to this definition is that their ignorance is not limited to worldly affairs, but extends impartially to things sacred and profane. It cannot, indeed, be fully understood except by those who have had the privilege to 'sit under' thirty or forty Recordite preachers. Yet, from time to time, specimens are brought before the public, which cast a light upon the depths below. Our readers probably have not forgotten the amusement excited by the singular mistake of one leader of the party, who 'denounced Lord John Russell from his pulpit, as the author of *'Russell's Modern Europe.'* We have ourselves heard a chief pillar of the same school explain the *Descent into Hell* to mean the *Incarnation*; and this blunder was repeated in several sermons. To give instances of their misinterpretation of Scripture, their desperate dislocation of text from context, and the cruel wrongs done to grammar in the struggle, would be an instructive task. But we abstain from undertaking it, lest we should unintentionally connect ludicrous images with holy words.

Such ignorance is often accompanied by a want of taste equally deplorable. This shows itself conspicuously in the grotesque buffooneries of platform oratory. But its most painful manifestation is the irreverence with which even the most sacred names and persons are treated in the pulpit. For the reason above given, we will not dwell upon this topic. As an example of our meaning it will be sufficient to mention the single fact, that a leader of the party lately travestied the solemn language wherein Scripture proclaims the coming of the Lord to judgment and applied it (by changing the word *King* into *Prince*) to describe the visit of Prince Albert to Liverpool.‡

* Arnold's Life, p. 225.

† Ibid. p. 221.

‡ The following is the advertisement of the sermon referred to:—
'EVERY EYE SHALL SEE HIM, or, *Prince Albert's Visit to Liverpool used in illustration of the second Coming of Christ.* A Sermon, by the Rev. H. McNeile, London, Hatchard.' An adaptation of the passage of Isaiah (xxxiii. 17), '*Thine eye shall see the King in His beauty,*' is introduced into this sermon, where *Prince* is substituted

But we must hasten from the preaching of our modern Puritans to their practice. Their theory naturally leads them to neglect the mass of their parishioners, and confine their attention to the few whom they regard as the elect. Moreover, their view of the ministerial office makes preaching its only essential function. An Irish prelate (who is, we believe, the only bishop belonging to the party) enforces this view in a recent visitation charge. He tells his clergy that they must not scruple to omit their visits to the sick and poor, if by so doing they can give greater force to their hebdomadal performance in the pulpit.* It is not wonderful that such a precept should be willingly obeyed. For it is a much easier task to sit in a comfortable study beside a blazing fire, than to trudge in sleet and snow through miry lanes; a much more agreeable duty to lounge over a volume of Divinity in an easy chair, than to kneel beside the filthy bed of a dying pauper.

But, in truth, a Recordite clergyman is out of his element in a parish. When he has one, indeed, he often labours most conscientiously among his parishioners; but the parochial system, with its practical recognition of the universal brotherhood of Christians, cannot be made to square with his theological exclusiveness. What he likes is, not a Parish, but a Congregation. The possession of a chapel in a large town, which he may fill with his own disciples, is his ideal of clerical usefulness. The kind of post desired is continually described in the advertising columns of the 'Record.' Here is one example out of many. '*A Clergyman M. A. of evangelical views desires a sole charge in some town sphere of usefulness. Advertiser sets forth zealously and faithfully the whole counsel of God, and preaches unwritten sermons. His qualifications being of rather a high order, a suitable stipend required. Also, as he is a BACHELOR, the advantage of good society desirable. Address L. L. B. at the office of the Record.*'† The above gentleman makes no invidious distinction between one town and another; but the following is more particular,

for *King*. In a faithful picture of the Recordite party, it is impossible not to refer to its ablest leader. But in doing so we are anxious to say that although, in this and some other instances, we think him blamable, yet we believe him to be a thoroughly sincere and honest man, and to have done much good by the great influence which his eloquence has given him over the second town in the kingdom.

* See Charge of the Bishop of Ossory, pp. 25, 26.

† The latter part of this advertisement is so strong, that we at first thought it must be a hoax. But its genuineness was acknowledged by the 'Record' itself, in answer to a correspondent who attacked it.

and requires a London audience. *'The Advertiser having been found, under God, very successful in preaching the doctrines of Grace, would be glad in meeting another Metropolitan sphere. He has a powerful voice, an earnest delivery, and a style of preaching best suited to an educated and enlightened audience.'**

It would be unfair to estimate the general character of the Recordite clergy by these advertisements, but they show the nature of the 'sphere' most coveted. In fact, few positions are, in a worldly point of view, more enviable than that of the popular incumbent of a town chapel. No vestry patriots vex his meditative moments; no squabbles with tithe-abhorring farmers disturb his sleep. When he looks round him from his pulpit, his glance is not met, like that of the parochial clergyman, by the stare of stolidity or indifference; but he beholds a throng of fervent worshippers who hang upon his lips, and whose very presence as voluntary members of his congregation is a pledge of their personal attachment to himself. There is something not merely soothing to vanity, but animating to the better parts of his nature, in such a spectacle. The zealous man must feel his zeal quickened, the pious his piety warmed, by such evidence of sympathy; and among the Recordite clergy, men of zeal and piety are not lacking. But, besides these advantages, he is exempted from all the more burdensome responsibilities of the pastoral charge. His flock consists exclusively of the wealthy or easy classes, so that the painful task of attempting to enlighten brutal ignorance, and to raise degraded pauperism, is not among his duties. Even if a local district has nominally been attached to his chapel, its poor inhabitants form no part of his congregation, or, at most, only a straggling representative of their class lurks here and there, behind the pulpit, or beneath the organ. The duties of such a district, if there be any, are performed by the Curate, who reads the prayers and is kept 'to serve tables' while the incumbent devotes himself to 'the ministry of the Word.'

His ministry consists essentially in preaching two extempore sermons on the Sunday. But there are other duties incidentally pertaining to his office. One of the most important is that of attending at the evening parties of his wealthier adherents. These social meetings are, indeed, among the most characteristic phenomena of the sect. In them we can best study its peculiar phraseology, and some of its most curious etiquettes and observances. The principal topics discussed in such as-

* Record, Oct. 25. 1852.

semblies are the merits and demerits of different preachers, the approaching restoration of the Jews, the date of the Millennium, the progress of the 'Tractarian heresy,' and the anticipated 'perversion' of High Church neighbours. These subjects are canvassed in a dialect differing considerably from common English. The words '*faithful*,' '*tainted*,' '*acceptable*,' '*decided*,' '*legal*,' and many others, are used in a technical sense. We hear that Mr. A. has been more '*owned*' than Mr. B., and that Mr. C. has more '*seals*'* than Mr. D. Again, the word '*gracious*' is invested with a meaning as extensive as that attached by young ladies to '*nice*.' Thus we hear of 'a gracious sermon,' 'a gracious meeting,' 'a gracious child,' and even 'a gracious whipping.'† The word '*dark*' has also a new and peculiar usage. It is applied to every person, book, or place, not impregnated with Recordite principles. We once were witnesses of a ludicrous misunderstanding resulting from this phraseology. 'What did you mean' (said A. to B.) 'by telling me that — was such a very dark village? I rode over there to-day, and found the street particularly broad and cheerful, and there is not a tree in the place.' '*The Gospel is not there*,' was B.'s laconic reply.

In such conversation the evening wears away, not without instruction to the stranger who is initiated into these mysteries for the first time. At length, when he is preparing to depart, a rustling of gowns announces a general change of position; and suddenly the scattered chairs range themselves in a great semi-circle, radiating from a central table, at which the clerical hero of the feast is seated. The fatal truth flashes upon the stranger's mind. An '*exposition*' is about to begin, and he is doomed to sit it out. The minute-hand of the timepiece opposite must traverse three-fourths of its circle, before that lengthened torture ceases. And then there follows a scene yet more painful to every right feeling; a bye-play of complimentary etiquette between the clergy present, accompanied by polite pressing and

* A preacher is said in this phraseology to be '*owned*' when he makes many converts, and his converts are called his '*seals*.'

† We are told of the hero of a recent biography that 'He gratefully recorded the history of his own correction, and blessed the *vigour* which had sometimes used the rod. In his father's chastening of him when a little child, he considered there had been a *skill*, and a secret of '*gracious* influence, which all his fond affection could never repay.' (*Memoir of Forsyth*, p. 4.) We have mentioned this book above with deserved respect: we may therefore venture to express regret that its excellent writer should occasionally fall into this sort of phraseology.

coquettish refusals of the request urged by one upon another to offer the concluding prayer.*

But these evening assemblies are not the only amusements permitted by the party. They are often pitied as the doomed victims of *ennui*; for it is supposed that the absence of balls and races, cards and theatres, games of chance and tales of fiction, must render existence insupportable. Yet, even when they are destitute of higher objects, their life is by no means so colourless as is imagined. Novels and fairy-tales, it is true, are forbidden luxuries; but their place is abundantly supplied by the romantic fictions daily issuing from the Prophetic Press.† The imagination, cut down to the roots on one side, only pushes forth more vigorous shoots in another direction. Nor is variety wanting to this literature; for no two writers agree in their predictions, and some new history of futurity is published monthly.

Again, it is a popular delusion that the Recordites are excluded from public amusements. Nothing can be more contrary to the fact. Races indeed, and theatres, they abjure; and good reasons may be urged for the abjuration; but public meetings and platform orators fill up the vacant space. Nor are these accessible only to the Londoner, or confined to the area of Exeter Hall. The religious world of every manufacturing town and watering-place has its fashionable season, when the secondary stars of London shoot down from their metropolitan sphere, to glitter on the provincial boards. Then follow morning meetings in the rotunda, and evening gatherings in the amphitheatre; Protestant breakfasts and Jewish luncheons; lectures here, addresses there, and speechification everywhere. Day after day, while fathers and husbands are busy in the counting-house, maids and matrons struggle for proximity to the platform. Their patient zeal is rewarded by the grateful orators with allusions complimentary and facetious, contrasting strangely with the solemn themes on which they are grafted.‡ On these occasions the

* We trust that nothing we have here said will be considered as implying an objection to the practice of ending the social meetings of Christians with common prayer. We only deprecate the faults which tend to bring that practice into disesteem.

† The fertility of the Prophetic Press may be estimated from the fact, that, besides innumerable treatises and pamphlets, it sends forth several regular periodicals, of which the 'Christian Ladies' Magazine,' the 'Quarterly Journal of Prophecy' and the 'Prophetic Herald' have, we believe, the largest circulation.

‡ The following specimen from the 'Record' may suffice: '*The noble lord, in order to show the good which might be effected by those young*

Jewish Society generally attracts the largest audience; nor is this surprising, when we remember the sex which furnishes the majority of the hearers. For where can curiosity find richer gratification than that supplied by this prophetic propaganda. Their bill of fare includes the immediate approach of the Red Dragon; the achievements of Gog and Magog; a fresh 'discovery' of the Lost Tribes (sometimes in the valleys of Kurdistan, sometimes in the plains of Timbuctoo*); a new and accurate account of the battle of Armageddon; and a picture of the subversion of Omar's Mosque by an army of Israelites marching from the Seven Dials. Such is the food provided for that love of Jews which distinguishes the sect. Nor is less ample provision made for their other ruling passion, the hatred of Papists. For its gratification, the Reformation Society meets in the subscription-rooms. There subtle calculators announce a new solution of the number of the beast; there Protestant rhetoricians rekindle the flames of Smithfield in many a gentle bosom; there the dungeons of the Inquisition are once more flung open to the light of day; and there the chaste eloquence of Father Achilli expatiates on the abuses of the confessional, and details with biographical fidelity every abomination of the Scarlet Woman.

The extravagances and buffooneries which too often disfigure these public meetings, are perhaps unavoidable excrescences of a system which is itself a necessary evil. For it is said, and we fear truly, that without these periodical displays, it would be impossible to raise the requisite funds for religious or charitable objects. It is a farther cause of regret that it should be needful to spend so large a part of the income thus contributed in the mere work of collection; and that so little of this service should be the free-will offering of Christian love. In fact, the whole

'ladies about to be married, related an anecdote of a lady who, during the existence of the Anti-Corn-law League, refused to marry her suitor until he became a subscriber to its funds. Of course such an obstacle as that did not stand long in the way, although the gentleman did not approve of the Association. And if the young ladies present would follow a similar course with respect to the Ragged School Union, they would speedily increase its income to a considerable extent.' We purposely suppress the name of the noble speaker, as it is not otherwise known to the Public; and we are anxious not to give needless pain to private feelings.

* It was our fortune once to hear one of these Judaizers advocate the notion that the 'Lost Tribes' are identical with the Saxons, on the ground that *Saxon* is an abridgment of *Isaac's son*.

machinery and getting up of these societies has become far too much a mere matter of trade.*

No doubt it is inevitable that when a party grows powerful in numbers and in wealth, it should attract retainers who join it rather from love of Mammon than from love of God. But this general truth is exemplified in a manner peculiarly painful among the adherents of the Recordite sect. We can scarcely look down a column of the Record without stumbling on the manifesto of some religious speculator, who is bent on turning godliness 'into gain. Conspicuous among these offenders are the clerical adventurers, some of whose advertisements we have already quoted. Next to these, governesses and tutors furnish the largest proportion of this mercenary class. As a specimen of the former, we may take the lady whose wishes are recorded as follows: '*Wanted, by a middle-aged lady, an active and useful situation in a serious family, where her services would be considered EQUIVALENT TO REMUNERATION. A sanctified taste for literature would be valued, but opportunities of promoting the interests of the kingdom of God would be much preferred.*' This lady must surely be related to the author of the following: '*TO GODLY PARENTS. A lady of PRACTICAL PIETY, opposed to Tractarianism, wishes to meet a Godly family desiring to bring up their children in the way they should go. * * * She has FINISHED her pupils without the aid of masters, and is thirty-five years of age.*'† These ladies are rivalled by the young gentleman who thus expresses his ambitious aspirations: '*TO CHRISTIAN NOBLEMEN. A young man desires to enter a decidedly pious family as resident tutor. His whole aim will be to train his young charge in heart and life to the Lord. He teaches the Classics.*'‡ Schoolmistresses are equally eager to attract the patronage of the party. In the older editions of the late Mrs. Sherwood's religious tales, one was frequently interrupted at the crisis of the narrative by a fly-leaf interpolated between the pages, which contained a glowing description of an 'establishment for the education of 'young ladies,' kept by the authoress; reminding one of the

* From the following advertisement it would really seem as if Religious Societies were sometimes got up in the same spirit as Railway Companies. '*TO RELIGIOUS AND BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES. A gentleman of high standing in address and knowledge in getting up, conducting, and corresponding with the public in aid of charitable institutions, is desirous of meeting with a confidential engagement, in the above capacity, either in town or country.*' (Record, Oct. 14, 1852.)

† Record, Nov. 25. 1852.

‡ Record, Oct. 11. 1852.

Italian Improvisatori, who send round their hat before the catastrophe of their story. More recently, another lady of the same profession has adopted a more original mode of making known her merits, by publishing a treatise upon 'Christian Marriage,' wherein she describes her mode of instructing her young charge in the art of love.* Bookmakers also of every description make their profit out of the simplicity of the religious public, and adopt every advertising device to enhance the value of their wares. One of the most offensive we have seen, is the following puff of a tract called 'The Sinner's Friend.' The writer, after telling us that 'eleven hundred thousand copies' of his book have been already sold, goes on as follows: '*The personal kindness of the deservedly revered Archbishop to the author, far exceeds the power of the most glowing language to express, but may well be understood by those who have tasted its sweetness and encouragement.*'† Another characteristic notice is that which announces the merits of 'The Layman's Prayer-book.' '*It is altered,*' says the author, '*so slightly from that you now use, as to be perfectly adapted for use in churches by the congregation, while the minister is reading from the present one; yet it is altered sufficiently to avoid unscriptural and unprotestant doctrines. Will you buy my little book, brother? Will you take it with you to church?*' Besides these literary advertisers, we find that ladies' maids, female companions, confidential clerks, coachmen and butlers, may be had in any number, of the prescribed opinions. And in a recent number of the Record we discovered a demand (no doubt soon followed by a supply) for '*A good plain cook, of evangelical sentiments.*'‡

It would, however, be most unjust (as we have before admitted) to take these advertisers in the Record as a fair sample of the Recordites. That party contains as large a proportion of sincere members as any other. And although we think the harm it does collectively, exceeds the good effected by its adherents individually, yet we must not deny that it has accomplished some useful tasks, which could not have so well been achieved by any other party. Every one now acknowledges the success of its emissaries in Ireland; and so

* 'Only in the Lord, or Christian Marriage,' is the title of this book. We omit the author's name, for the reason before given.

† Record, Dec. 6. 1852. We have omitted a part of this advertisement, which could not be quoted without profaneness. We do not mean to impeach the sincerity of the author of this tract, and hope that the puff may have been inserted by his publisher without his sanction.

‡ Record, Oct. 19. 1852.

much could scarcely have been effected against the ultramontaniam of Cullen and M'Hale, except by intolerance and dogmatism as peremptory as their own. Nor is it only in Ireland that we may see moral triumphs achieved by the Puritanic divinity. There are probably some minds so constituted, as to be incapable of receiving the truths of Christianity, except under the Calvinistic form. And these seem to be principally found in a class where Christianity is much needed, the middle rank of society in trading and manufacturing communities. Many a worker in the gold-diggings of Lancashire and Yorkshire, who might otherwise have remained a selfish worshipper of Mammon all his days, has been roused by Puritanic preachers to the consciousness of a spiritual destiny. Such converts may be often seen devoting the hours of their well-earned Sunday, not to a calculation of the profits of the coming week, nor to idle relaxation from the toils of the past, but to the labours of the Sunday School, or the District Visitor, in lanes reeking with the stench of sewers, and cellars pestilent with fever. Men like these, let their opinions be as narrow as they may, are the salt of this world, and the earnest of a better.

But the merits of individuals must not blind us to the mischief wrought by their party. This mischief consists, not in their success, but in their failure. The injury is done, not to those whom they convert, but to those whom they repel. If, indeed, they could succeed in proselytising the people, they would do far more good than harm; because, though some of their opinions verge upon Antinomianism, they seldom practically lead to immorality; and religion, once admitted into the heart, will expel all demons thence. But, unhappily, though the Puritan theology is attractive to a few, it is repulsive to the multitude. By most minds it is rejected at once, with an instinctive repugnance. And yet this theology is, by the lower ranks of society in our great towns, very generally identified with Christianity itself, which has been too often presented to them in no other shape, either in the Meeting-house or the Church.* To this circumstance may be attributed much of the infidelity now so general among the best instructed portion of the labouring classes. It is a melancholy fact that the men

* It must be remembered that, in the great towns, a large majority of the Churches, and all the Dissenting Chapels, are supported on the voluntary principle, i. e. by pew-rents. They are therefore dependent on the religious portion of the shopkeepers who take the pews. But the shopkeepers as a class, if religious at all, are Puritanically inclined. This accounts for the fact mentioned in the text.

who make our steam-engines and railway carriages, our presses and telegraphs, the furniture of our houses and the clothing of our persons, have now in a fearful proportion renounced all faith in Christianity. They regard the Scripture as a forgery, and religion as priestcraft, and are living without God in the world. This state of things, sapping as it does the very sinews of our national life, cannot be wholly laid to the charge of any one party. All are in some measure accountable for it, in so far as all have fallen short of that perfect standard of Christian goodness, the sight of which is the only effectual instrument of conversion. But we do not hesitate to say that the party most directly guilty of driving half-educated men into Atheism, is that which has pushed Evangelical opinions into Puritan extravagance.*

These exaggerations of Protestant doctrine could not fail to produce a reaction in the opposite direction. As in the seventeenth century the intolerant Calvinism of the Synod of Dort promoted the triumph of Arminian theology in England, so in our own times a disgust at the excesses of the Puritanic party caused that rapid growth of High Church opinions, which distinguished the second quarter of the present century. It is often said, indeed, that the High Church party was predominant during the greater part of the preceding century, and continued powerful till the close of what we may call the *Eldonite* period. But this is a mere confusion, caused by similarity of names, between parties utterly dissimilar. The 'Church and King' men, who flourished thirty, fifty, or seventy years ago, were a political, and not a religious party. They sometimes talked of Orthodoxy, at Visitation Dinners or University Elections; but they meant by Orthodoxy not any theological creed, but love of tithes and hatred of Methodists. They had no affinity with modern High Churchmen, except the dislike of Protestant Dissenters. The true High Church theology represents the dominant school of the Caroline epoch; a school which, though too often identified with despotic bigots like Laud, yet produced many illustrious writers and many eminent saints. This

* The two other chief causes of this infidelity are, *first*, the hateful distinction made by our pew system between rich and poor; and, *secondly*, the practice of dragging Sunday Schools to church at an age when they cannot possibly understand a word of the Service. What ought to be done with Sunday Scholars during service-time is another question; and could only be properly answered by the restoration of the order of Deacons.

party died out at the beginning of the last century, after its exaggerated phase (with which we have recently been again familiarised) had developed itself in the Non-jurors. From this extreme form, however, it must be distinguished by every candid historian. The Anglican, though it may be pushed into the Romanistic creed, is not identical therewith. It was revived in a systematic form twenty years ago, by an able knot of writers, the principal of whom solemnly pledged themselves to one another*, to use every means of reviving a belief in the doctrines of Anglicanism, and originated for that purpose the 'Tracts for the Times.' It is true that these writers very rapidly developed the opinions from which they started into actual Romanism. But the earlier Tracts contain a *bonâ fide* attempt to base the creed of the Church upon strictly Anglican tradition. Mr. Newman has fully explained the way in which he and his ablest followers were led on, step by step, from this original standing point to higher ground. Nor would we deny that, according to the rules of strict logic, this progress was inevitable. But logical results from one principle are often modified by conclusions no less logical from another. And it is historically certain that many intellects, and those of no contemptible power, are capable of acquiescing in that system of belief which was maintained by Bull and Pearson, though to other minds its premises seem necessarily to involve the conclusions of Rome.

The characteristic tenets of this party are supplemental rather than contradictory to those of their predecessors. The Anglican accepts the doctrine that '*we are justified by faith,*' but gives equal prominence to the additional truth that '*we are judged by works.*' He acknowledges that men must be converted by grace, but maintains that Christians are regenerated by baptism. He assents to the sole supremacy of Scripture, but adds, that '*the Church hath authority in controversies of faith.*'† And this authoritative Church he distinguishes from all pretenders by its apostolic descent. Thus, the watchwords of the School are '*Judgment by works,*' '*Baptismal Regeneration,*' '*Church Authority,*' and '*Apostolical Succession.*' **

As to the first head, there is no real difference between the moderate Anglican and the moderate Evangelical. Both agree that the works of man cannot earn reward from God; both

* See the account of this compact (which was made in 1833) given by Mr. Percival, himself one of the parties to it, in his well-known 'Letter to the Irish Ecclesiastical Journal.'

† Article 20th.

agree that without sanctification there can be no salvation. But perhaps the Evangelical party had laid too much stress on the beginning of the religious life, and had trusted to the spontaneous action of that first spiritual impulse for producing all requisite growth in holiness.* The Anglicans saw this mistake, and have corrected it by a teaching more systematically practical.

The second tenet, that of Baptismal Regeneration, is more distinctive. The Recordites, as we have seen, practically heathenise Christendom, by denying the Christian name to all except that narrow circle whom they designate as the elect. The Anglicans meet this uncharitable dogma with the assertion that all Christians, as such, are in a condition spiritually different from that of the heathen. They teach that all the members of the Visible Church are the elect of God; and that all baptized persons are members of the Visible Church, and as such are endowed with all gifts and graces necessary to salvation. Even here, though the difference may appear considerable between the High Church and Evangelical phraseology, it is really a difference rather in terms than in meaning. For the moderate Low Churchman allows that those who are baptized into the Christian Church are admitted to a share in spiritual blessings; and the Anglican acknowledges that if the regenerated infant grows up a sinful man, he needs conversion before he can enjoy the blessings to which he has been called.

The addition of the authority of the Church to that of Scripture, seems, at first sight, the most serious difference of the three. Yet such authority is undoubtedly claimed by the Articles, and may be narrowed within limits strictly Protestant. Nor can it be denied that a reasonable man, in the formation of his opinions, would give great weight to the collective judgment of other Christians. Yet, on the other hand, this principle has an alarming power of expansion. The Anglican divines have been led to cherish it partly because they felt the evils of perpetual doubt and presumptuous questioning; partly because they sought for some authoritative guidance to check the follies of weak brethren †; but chiefly because they loved those moral

* One of the best and ablest of the modern Evangelical Clergy has recently admitted this. Speaking of the preachers of his party, he says: 'The Gospel, they say, is made up of a few cardinal truths, which cannot be too often repeated. * * * With so much time spent in laying the foundation again and again, little is left for informing and guiding men's consciences as to the thousand details of active life.' (*Rev. H. Garney's Sermon on Duke of Wellington*, preface, p. 4.)

† About the time of the first appearance of the 'Tracts' half the

qualities which are closely linked to obedience and submission. But their teaching on this head is beset by great difficulties. 'We acknowledge,' say their opponents, 'the authority of the true Church; but for what Church do you claim this power, and where shall we find her teaching?' The Anglican replies, that the Church is that of England, and her teaching is to be found in her Liturgy and Articles. But these formularies admit of diverse interpretations, and need a living voice to decide between conflicting interpreters. 'Where, then, says the inquirer, shall I seek this living voice, which may solve my doubts?' To this it is replied that the accents of the Church are to be heard from the lips of her bishops, and that her presbyters ordained by those bishops are her living oracles to each individual layman in every separate parish. But when asked whether the laity under the charge of Dr. McNeile are to believe a different creed from those under Dr. Pusey, the Anglican is perplexed for an answer; and still more so when he is reminded that the collective voice of the bishops is silent, and that individual bishops differ as much as their presbyters.

But again the inquirer demands satisfaction on a farther point. 'How am I to know,' he says, 'that the English establishment is that true Church which can alone claim authority to teach and guide?' The Anglican theology replies that the true Church possesses unity as well as visibility. Truth is one, therefore the true Church is one. And this one Church has a note whereby she may be known. In each country she is that body of orthodox Christians which is governed by bishops possessing the Apostolical Succession. Hence the Dissenter, who secedes from his parish church, is forsaking the communion of the Apostles. But here again the High Churchman is embarrassed by his Roman antagonist. For a rival Church exists in England, also governed by bishops to whom the Apostolic consecration has been lineally transmitted from the very source whence the Anglican bishops derive their own orders. And that Church declares the Anglican doctrine not orthodox but heretical, and her bishops not successors of the Apostles but schismatical usurpers. How are the laity of the Metropolis to decide whether their allegiance be due to the Bishop of London or the 'Archbishop of Westminster?' Their decision can scarcely be determined in favour of the

religious world was going mad after the Irvingites (who spoke in unknown tongues), the Rowites (who worked miracles), and the Plymouth Brethren, who advocated a community of goods.

former by the criterion of Unity, Ecclesiastical Authority, or Apostolical Succession.

Thus these hierarchical claims of Anglicanism are dangerous weapons; serviceable artillery, perhaps, against the sectarian, but liable to recoil in the discharge. They do not, however, hold a prominent place in the teaching of moderate High Churchmen. They are not the basis of their system, but only secondary and ornamental details. Even against Dissenters they are not rigidly enforced. The hereditary non-conformist is not excluded from salvation. Foreign Protestants are even owned as brethren, though a mild regret is expressed that they lack the blessing of an authorised Church government. Apostolical succession is not practically made essential to the being of a Church, but rather cherished as a dignified and ancient pedigree, connecting our English episcopate with primitive antiquity, and binding the present to the past by a chain of filial piety. In the same hands, Church authority is reduced to little more than a claim to that deference which is due from the ignorant to the learned, from the taught to the teacher. Meanwhile the maintainers of these views are useful, not only as a counterpoise to the extravagance of the Recordites, but for much positive good achieved by themselves. And, considered as a whole, they form a party which the Church could ill afford to spare.

In the first place, their system gives freer scope to the feelings of reverence, awe, and beauty, than that of their opponents. They endeavour, and often successfully, to enlist these feelings in the service of piety. Music, painting, and architecture they consecrate as the handmaids of religion. Thus they attract an order of men found chiefly among the most cultivated classes, whose hearts must be reached through their imagination rather than their understanding. It is surely well that such provision has been made for those whose taste (perhaps over refined) has been shocked by the flippant familiarity of superficial religionists. But the influence of these Anglican divines is not confined to the fastidious few. They have given a greater reality to the religion of all ranks, by their energetic protest against the hollowness and insincerity of popular pietism. The Recordite party, as we have seen, had substituted a verbal profession of faith for a life of holiness. Too often a 'professor of religion' was led to think that by the pronouncement of an easy Shibboleth, coupled with an abstinence from balls and theatres, he atoned for a life of covetousness and self-indulgence. The old Evangelical body, it is true, always discountenanced such self-deceit. But the Anglican School has checked it more successfully by

the prominence which they give to the duties of daily life and the formation of habits. Moreover their exhortations cannot be turned aside by excuses which often parry the home-thrusts of other preachers — 'We are waiting for the time of our conversion' — 'We hope to receive our effectual calling in due season.' — To such pleas their reply is ready and consistent. 'You have already received the needful help. You have the power to pray and act. You are now the elect of God; make your election sure, lest you be cast away.' Such addresses administer no palliative to the conscience, and encourage no indolent hope of a compulsory reformation.

In the same spirit, the writers of this party have contributed to the religious literature of the day many admirable works which under the guise of fiction teach the purest Christianity, and exemplify its bearing on every detail of common life. To the training of childhood especially they have rendered most valuable aid, by thus embodying the precepts of the Gospel. But we need not do more than allude to works so universally known and valued as those of Miss Sewell, Mr. Adams, and Bishop Wilberforce.*

Again, the revival of the High Church party has effected an important improvement among the clergy. Many of these were prejudiced by hereditary dislike against the doctrines and the persons of the Evangelicals, and by this prejudice were repelled from religion. But under the name of orthodoxy and the banner of High Church, they have willingly received truth against which, had it come to them in another shape, they would have closed their ears and hearts. A better spirit has thus been breathed into hundreds who but for this new movement would have remained, as their fathers were before them, mere Nimrods, Ramrods, or Fishing rods.

We cannot trace to the party of which we are now speaking, such great measures of public morality as are due to the school of Wilberforce and Buxton. But this is no reproach to them; for they did not exist as a distinct party till those national reforms were accomplished. They have, however, originated two public movements of much importance in our own time;

* The Evangelical party has also pursued the line of religious fiction, but generally with less success. Mrs. Sherwood, it is true, had great power of narrative, but her love of the pomps and vanities of the world too often overpowers her sense of religion. One recent Evangelical work of this kind, however, we may notice, as possessing great merit, — 'The Daughter at Home,' by an anonymous author. As a picture of the power of religion in gradually subduing the asperities of a gloomy disposition and morbid temper, this story is unequalled.

that for the establishment of Protestant Sisterhoods of Mercy, and that for the general creation of Colonial Bishoprics.* Some discredit has been thrown upon the former of these objects, by the indiscretion of its more conspicuous promoters. Yet even in the midst of this indiscretion, there has been much to admire, in the self-devotion of body and soul to the relief of misery. And the original sisterhood, instituted under the superintendence of the Bishop of London, to train nurses for the hospitals, has, we believe, furnished no such occasion of stumbling. The movement for establishing Bishoprics in the Colonies has attracted greater public attention, and has met with more unqualified success. In the last thirteen years, fifteen new Bishoprics have been founded, and the complete organisation of the Church transferred to as many nascent empires. We need not say that our satisfaction at this result springs not from our attributing any miraculous powers to the episcopal office. We value it not as the source of thaumaturgic influence, but as an instrument of good government; not for its magical but for its moral energy. The superintendence of any central authority can do much by combining and harmonising the isolated efforts of individuals; the superintendence of a zealous and intelligent man can do more. Nor does he only render more efficient the labours of those amongst whom he comes to preside; his presence attracts more labourers into the vineyard. Those who would have shrunk from the isolation of independent action, now gladly go to work under a chief pastor on whose wisdom they rely, and on whose affectionate sympathy and encouragement they depend. That this is no mere theory is proved by the fact that in thirteen years the number of clergy in those fifteen new episcopates had increased from 274 to 503.†

But, as we have already said, the public measures promoted by an ecclesiastical party are a less certain test of its merits than that afforded by the conduct of its private members, and the efficiency of their parochial ministrations. From this criterion the Anglican party has no need to shrink. The moderate High

* It is true that the first example in the present century was given by the Evangelical party; the foundation of the Bishopric of Calcutta in 1814 having been entirely due to the exertions of Wilberforce. But no general effort was made in the same cause, till the establishment of the 'Colonial Bishopric Fund.'

† In connexion with these efforts for the benefit of the Colonies we should notice the great impulse given by the High Church party, during the last twenty years to the Society 'for the Propagation of the Gospel'; and also the foundation of St. Augustine's College at Canterbury, for training Colonial Missionaries.

Churchman (supposing him, of course, to be in earnest) is peculiarly fitted for the management of a country parish. With the aristocratic classes his view of Christianity is usually more acceptable than any other; and his heartiness and old English feeling, his love of festivals and holidays, and his active benevolence, render him popular among the poor. With the middle class, the shopkeepers and artisans, he is usually less successful. They are not as yet sufficiently cultivated to be susceptible of the artistic and imaginative influences which attract the higher ranks, and they are filled with a jealous and not unnatural suspicion of everything in which they fancy a Rome-ward tendency. Hence the Anglican clergyman should, for his own comfort, and for the good of those under his charge, be placed rather in the country than in the town*; because, in the former, his parishioners consist almost exclusively either of the rich or poor, while the middling class is dominant in the boroughs. Such a clergyman as we have described will not differ from his Evangelical neighbours in any material point of doctrine. Had he lived fifty years ago, his sermons would have stamped him as a 'Methodist' or a 'Calvinist,' among the fox-hunting parsons who used these terms synonymously, and applied them to every man who was an earnest believer in Christianity. Nor are his ordinary parochial labours distinguished from those of his Low Church brethren. He and they are equally to be found in the cottages of the poor, comforting the afflicted, reading to the sick, and praying with the dying. He adopts the same plans of usefulness which have been originated by his Evangelical predecessors. Like them he encourages the zeal for missionary exertion, though perhaps he may be prejudiced against the 'Church Missionary Society,' and the Committee which he establishes may collect funds for its elder sister of 'the Propagation.' He vies with his neighbours in zeal for the education of the poor; pays daily visits to his school; turns the *apprentice-teachers* into his private pupils; and works hard in preparing his master and mistress for the annual visit of Her Majesty's Inspector.

Within the walls of the Church the distinction of parties is perhaps more marked than in the school-room or the cottage; though even here it is becoming gradually obliterated, by the adoption among the best men in every party of the reforms originating with either side. The first difference which strikes us, regards the Sacrament of Baptism. In its administration the Anglicans have revived the practice (alike Rubrical and

* Leeds is an exception to this rule; but it is, so far as we know, the only exception.

reasonable) of celebrating it in the public service. The infant member is adopted into the Christian family with the sympathising prayers of his assembled brethren. The external appliances of the rite are made to correspond with its dignity and beauty. The mean basin of crockery is discarded, and the ancient font of stone restored, and filled to the brim with clear water, the consecrated type of purity and innocence. Nor is it (for the sake of a needless symbolism) pushed into the porch, where it must be invisible to the congregation, but placed in a conspicuous and central spot, where the service can be witnessed by every eye, and heard by every ear. The same sense of artistic fitness which dictates these changes, prompts also to other restorations. The parish priest has generally inherited from the past a church beautiful in its original structure, but defaced by the tasteless innovations of recent barbarism. The 'high embowed roof' no longer retains its original pitch; the windows have lost not only their stained glass, but even their tracery; the pillars are cut away to make room for hideous monuments; and the stone is buried under a hundred coats of whitewash. He hastens, so far as he can obtain the means, to restore the sacred edifice to its pristine beauty. The mouldings emerge into light; the whitewash disappears; the storied windows once more fling a chequered colouring over the walls; the crosses rise again from their broken shafts, over a lofty roof. But, when all this is done, the worst abomination remains behind. The area of nave, choir, and aisles is choked up with high square pews only half occupied, where the richer parishioners recline in solitary state, while the poor are too often left to stand in the gangways. This, perhaps the most odious practical abuse introduced into the Church during the last two centuries, the Anglican party has the credit of successfully combating. 'Equality within the House of God,' has been from the first their motto and their practice. Nor is it an easy task which they have undertaken. The fat farmer, who for fifty years has snored unseen beneath the shelter of his wooden walls, is frantic at the idea that he should be exposed to the vulgar gaze. The young rustic, who has carried on a comfortable flirtation in the corner of the adjacent penfold, regards the curtailment of its lofty proportions as treason against the privileges of love. The selfishness of ownership, the dignity of property, are roused to the combat, and fight energetically against the invasion of their rights. Moreover, the clergyman cannot legally make any alterations at all, without the consent of his churchwardens, who are often the most pig-headed opponents of his reforms. This consent once obtained, he must hasten on

the work, lest they should change their mind; nor let him hope for any rate from his vestry to aid him in the execution. If at length he has succeeded in replacing the old boxes by decent seats, there remains the invidious task of assigning to each householder his due share of room. No one must be too far from the pulpit, no one too near the door; to put a man behind a pillar is to create a mortal enemy. The clergyman who succeeds in triumphing over all these difficulties, without making himself the most unpopular man in his parish, must possess a rare union of tact and courage.* Yet that many such clergymen exist in the Anglican party, is evident from the number of old churches which we see freed from the nuisance of pews, and filled by contented parishioners. It must be acknowledged, however, that every such improvement renders all similar changes in its neighbourhood comparatively easy. The advantage of the reformed arrangement is so manifest, that in a short time it is generally acknowledged. The restored church is cited as a model; strangers come to see it; the natives grow proud of it; their neighbours become emulous, and at last allow the example to be imitated with little opposition.

The removal of this and other barbarous innovations may be considered to belong to that work which has fallen peculiarly to the Anglican clergy—the restoration of ancient churches. But the same party has shown equal taste and activity in the building of new ones. To the noble edifices bequeathed us by the Middle Ages, they have added others not unworthy of their prototypes.

But above all, their revival of Church Music deserves honourable mention. Till their epoch, the psalmody of a village church was truly a disgraceful exhibition. A choir, consisting frequently of the most drunken reprobates in the parish, bawled out the ‘*Hanthem*,’ which they sang in *parts*, that is, in a complicated kind of discord. No other music varied the service, except the singing of a metrical psalm, from which the poetry had been previously extracted by Tate and Brady. The instrumental accompaniment of the performance was the squeaking of a cracked flageolet, and the growling of a base viol.

* We lately visited a parish where this kind of reformation was proceeding, amidst a storm of opposition. One farmer was especially furious at the removal of a hideous gallery, which for the last fifty years had blocked up a beautiful window. He declaimed indignantly against the Parson’s tyranny. ‘I have heard of them tyrants of ‘*Antikkity*’ said he, ‘who burnt people because they wouldn’t agree with their notions. And our Parson is just as bad—burning our ‘*gallery*.’ Another said, ‘It was all Popery.—Weren’t them new-fangled narrow pews what they used to call *Monks’ cells*?’

All this is now on the road to amendment. Music is taking its proper place in the public worship. The wretched metrical version of the psalms is superseded by hymns uniting poetry with devotion; and at the same time the more ancient melodies of the Church are restored to their due prominence. It is a vulgar error that the chanting of the psalms, and the appropriate singing of the other musical parts of the service, is a difficult feat of art. On the contrary, the best chants are the simplest kind of music known, consisting of a very few notes perpetually reiterated. A congregation can far more easily learn to join in this kind of psalmody than in ordinary hymn-tunes, which are much more complex. We know village churches where the whole congregation join in the strains of Farrant and Tallis, and the Gregorian tones. And it is found that when the people are thus trained to take an intelligent part in the musical portion of the liturgy, they will not leave their responses in the prayers to the listless articulation of the Clerk.

Such are some of the services lately rendered to the Church by the Anglican party. Its modern hagiology is of course less copious than that of the Evangelicals, inasmuch as its existence as a resuscitated party has been much shorter. Yet we need not doubt that it will again produce saintly men, as in the times of old. For its creed is the same which nourished the piety of the best Churchman and the best Churchwoman of the seventeenth century; her whose gentle virtues shone amid the pollution of the most corrupt of courts, with the lustre of a pearl upon a dunghill;—and him who is pronounced by an historian not likely to be partial, to have ‘approached as near ‘as human infirmity permits, to the ideal perfection of Christian ‘virtue.’* Nor are there wanting living representatives of the practice, as well as the profession, of these ancient worthies. Bishop Selwyn is not undeserving of a place in the same category with Bishop Perry. And among the lay adherents of the Anglican creed are men who might be cited as examples of the purest type of English character, and women worthy to belong to the same sex and country with Margaret Godolphin.

Notwithstanding the merits of this party we have seen that its teaching involves, in some degree, the vague assertion of two principles—Apostolical Succession, and Church Authority. These may, it is true, be made to mean but little; and, veiled in a graceful mist of words, they may become an ornamental

* Macaulay, Hist. i. p. 637.

and dignified appendage to a system essentially Protestant. But they may also be made the basis instead of the superstructure, and a fabric may be built upon them at which the Anglican stands aghast. In this latter method they were dealt with by those bold essayists who revived, twenty years ago, the theology of Laud. Their earlier and more moderate statements of doctrine found ready acceptance among the clergy, and they speedily were at the head of a large body of adherents. But they pressed recklessly to the front, and soon left the mass of their troops far behind them. Yet still they hurried on towards the goal of their logical career, and abandoned, one by one, the traditions of the Anglican divinity from which they started. Meanwhile, after they had advanced beyond the High Church camp, they continued for nearly ten years members of the Church of England, and formed a new party, which took from their writings the name of Tractarian. The doctrines of this party are regarded by themselves as necessary developments of the Anglican principles. The foundation of their system is Apostolical Succession, which they hold essential to the being of a true Church. The Bishop duly consecrated is by virtue of this succession the representative of the Apostles. The Presbyters on whom he lays his hands, are thereby endowed with supernatural powers, which enable them to change the Eucharistic elements into the body of Christ. They are also a mediatorial Priesthood, ordained to offer prayers and 'unbloody sacrifices' for the people. By their hands, moreover, the Church exercises 'a power which places it almost on a level with God himself—the power of forgiving sins by wiping them out in baptism—of transferring souls from Hell to Heaven.* The efficacy of both Sacraments depends solely on the *opus operatum* of their external acts. Hence these writers deplore the imperfection of the Anglican Communion Service as 'a judgment upon the Church,'† because it ascribes no miraculous power to the words of consecration. Again, in the Baptismal Service, the Church requires a profession of faith to be made in the infant's name, before it is baptized; or (if it has been previously baptized in *articulo mortis*) before it can be received into the Church; thereby testifying that the blessings bestowed are conditional on moral qualifications. Whereas our Romanising divines teach that the baptismal rite, even if performed in jest, would so change the nature of the child that its post-baptismal sins would be excluded from the benefit of the Atonement. Thus Christianity becomes a system

* Sewell's Christian Morals, p. 247.

† Tract 90, p. 4.

of magical forms and incantations, tending to the exaltation of the sacerdotal office.* We are called upon to believe these doctrines upon the infallible authority of the Church. But if we ask where this authority resides, and who is empowered to embody this infallibility, these teachers are more sorely puzzled for an answer than even their Anglican predecessors. And in their attempts to reach a firmer ground, notwithstanding all their struggles against the force of logic, they are borne down by an irresistible current to the chair of Peter. The foremost of them soon perceived the goal whither they were tending, and at first got over their difficulties by declaring that they acknowledged the authority of the Roman See, and held all Roman doctrine†, and that they could reconcile the English Articles to their Papal creed, by interpreting them in a 'non-natural sense.' They openly abjured the name of Protestant; they allowed that, if cut off from the Roman Communion the Church of England must be schismatical; but they maintained that the two Churches were not really separated, and that their mutual excommunication was the result of a misunderstanding which time would clear up. This view, however, was too contrary to common sense to be long defended, even by its inventors. They soon acknowledged their error, and their leader, renouncing for ever the Anglican allegiance, passed over the Rubicon, and rushed into the heart of the Italian territory. But not all who advanced to that fatal frontier had courage to cross with Cæsar; the rabble of his army remained shivering on the brink. And now they are taunted by the indignant sarcasms of their former captain, as he adjures them by every principle they hold sacred to come over and help him. He proves that their present position is untenable. He proves that while professing to repudiate all private judgment, they are in fact standing on the point of the loneliest pinnacle which private judgment ever reared.‡ He overwhelms them with those arguments which proved irresistible to himself; the arguments which forced him to renounce the dreams of ambition and the reality of power, which tore him from his Oxford home and his devoted friends, and drove him into exile among strange

* This object is confessed with unusual candour, by a champion of the party, as follows: 'Until the people shall think thus of these 'mysteries they will not think of us as it is far more for their 'benefit than ours that they should always think.' (*Charge of the Bishop of Exeter*, 1842.)

† These were the published words of Mr. Ward and Mr. Oakely, some time before they left the Church of England.

‡ See the Oratorian Lectures of Father Newman, on *Anglican difficulties*, delivered in London in 1850.

scenes and uncongenial men. But he reasons and he appeals in vain. Those on whom he calls have stopped their ears against the voice of the charmer. Their only answer is, 'Here we are, and here we will remain.'*

Yet we must not hastily accuse all these waverers of dishonesty. Some of them, there cannot be a doubt, are men who would sacrifice, not their preferment only, but their lives, in the cause of duty. But they feel that although the logical consequences of their principles thrust them forward, yet there are moral and religious difficulties which raise insuperable obstacles in the path. There are points in the doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome which seem to them irreconcilable with Christian truth. If, only, they could get over these stumbling blocks, gladly would they follow their captain's steps. But till then they remain where Providence has placed them; halting between two opinions as to their own position; and still hoping almost against hope, that the Church of England may be a true branch of the Church Catholic. These are the best of the Tractarian party; but they are very few. The bulk of it consists of young and silly partisans, who have joined it more for the sake of amusement and notoriety than for any other reason. They are guiltless of insincerity, in not pushing strong opinions to extreme consequences; for, in fact, they have never formed any opinions at all. They have but learnt by rote a set of phrases for which they shout. If guilty of dishonesty at all, it is only in pretending to decide on theological questions, while conscious that they are destitute of the simplest rudiments of theological knowledge.

The manner of such a pretender is highly characteristic. It is marked by supercilious silliness and fatuous conceit, assumed to hide the depths of his ignorance. It is sometimes difficult to maintain one's gravity, when one hears such a neophyte affecting the tone of a *Doctor Seraphicus*, and volubly pouring forth theological polysyllables which he would be sorely puzzled to render into English. One is tempted to remind him how few years have passed since he was nearly plucked for his degree, and to ask how long it is since he has acquired the power of construing the Greek Testament, wherein he was then so woefully deficient.

* It must be remembered, that we are speaking of those who still adhered to the Tractarian opinions after Mr. Newman's secession. But many of his followers, frightened by his desertion, fled back in the opposite direction, and intrenched themselves in the Anglican fortresses which they had abandoned. These are now distinguished among the Anglican party by the bitterness of their hostility to the Church of Rome.

To describe the costume, the phraseology, and the ritual of this party would be a waste of time. Their peculiarities have been made familiar to all, by the pen and the pencil of innumerable satirists. Who does not recognise, when he meets them in the railway or the street, the clipped shirt-collar, the stiff and tie-less neckcloth, the M. B. * coat and cassock waistcoat, the cropped hair and un-whiskered cheek? Who does not know that the wearer of this costume, will talk of 'the Holy Altar,' and 'the Blessed Virgin,' of 'Saint Ignatius Loyola,' and 'Saint Alphonso de Liguori?' And that he will date his letters on 'the eve of St. Chad,' or 'the Morrow of St. Martin?'† Who has not seen the youthful Presbyter bowing to the altar, and turning his back on the people? Who has not heard him intoning the prayers, and preaching in his surplice on the 'holy obedience,' due from laity to priesthood? Who is ignorant that he reads the offertory after his sermon, and sends round little bags at the end of long poles, which are thrust in the faces of the worshippers to extort their contributions? Who has not noticed the gaudy furniture of his church, the tippeted altar, the candles blazing at noon-day, the wreaths of flowers changing their colour with feast or fast, the mediæval emblems embroidered on the altar-cloth? After all, these are but harmless fopperies, only mischievous if they stir up the wrath of the people. But the Tractarian mode of celebrating the Communion deserves graver censure. In the first place, continual bowings and genuflexions are introduced, without the authority either of Rubric or custom. Secondly, the elements are placed, before consecration, upon a peculiar piece of furniture, a side-board, called a *prothesis* or *credence table*, although the use of this has been adjudged by the highest Ecclesiastical Court to be positively illegal.‡ Thirdly, in the reception of the consecrated bread, a

* Every one knows how this name was accidentally disclosed to a Tractarian customer by a tailor's orders to his foreman; and how the artist was forced reluctantly to confess that it was an abbreviation for '*Mark of the Beast*.'

† Some of the party have even rebaptized the days of the week, as appears from the following advertisement in the '*the English Churchman*.' 'WHAT IS THE GOSPEL? NOT PROTESTANTISM BUT THE PRAYER-BOOK. This work will be brought out regularly at F. Gilmour's High Street, Sarum, every Ascension Day (heathenishly called Thursday,) and will be in the hands of the London and Oxford Booksellers every Passion Day, dedicated idolatrously by all Protestants to the Heathen Goddess Friga.'

‡ See the judgment of Sir H. J. Fust on the Stone Altar case. The contempt shown by the Tractarians for this judgment is the more remarkable, because they profess such reverence for the same judge's

novel usage is adopted, which has excited scandal, and even caused disturbance, in the administration of the eucharist.*

Still more perilous to the peace of the Church is the attempt recently made by some Tractarian clergy to innovate upon the burial service. Under pretence of a rigid adherence to the Rubric, they have insisted on pausing in their office, after the coffin is lowered, till the whole grave is filled up. Meantime the mourning relatives (including, perhaps, sickly women,) are compelled to stand shivering in the rain or snow; while the solemn impressions made by the majestic pathos of the service are effaced by anger, and tears of grief changed into tears of rage. The disregard thus shown for human sorrow makes this an instance of heartless folly, almost inconceivable in our tender-hearted age. Yet the refusal of the same party to bury those who have been baptized by Dissenters, shows a similar triumph of bigotry over compassion. There might be some excuse for this, if one could believe that it arose from a conscientious obedience to the Rubric. But that is impossible; for the very men who affect this scrupulosity are themselves daily violators of the most precise directions of the Rubric. If there be one Rubrical enactment more important than another, it is that which prescribes the *daily* celebration of Morning and Evening Prayer in every Church. Yet this is not obeyed by one Tractarian out of twenty. We entirely sympathise with the

decision on the Gorham case. The number of churches now possessing *credenca tables* is considerable enough to make the manufacture of *credenca cloths* a regular branch of trade, as appears from the advertisements in the 'Guardian.' See 'Guardian,' Feb. 9. 1853.

* The palm of the hand is held in a peculiar posture, that the bread may be dropped into it. This practice caused a disturbance lately at one of our fashionable watering places. A Low Church Incumbent was administering the communion, when a young Tractarian, conspicuously arrayed in the costume of his sect, knelt before the rails. Suddenly the congregation was startled by the voice of the Incumbent repeating the words of administration, 'Take this,' in an emphatic tone. On looking up, they beheld the recipient with his palm held in the above-mentioned attitude, but not extended in the usual manner to 'take' the bread from the minister. Six times did the officiator repeat the admonition, each time louder than before; but still the recipient obstinately persisted in his passive attitude. At length the Incumbent passed on, desiring his Curate not to give the cup to the recusant. It is hard to say, in such a case, which of the two parties was guilty of the greater profaneness; the one who suffered the solemnity of the most sacred rite to be violated, rather than give up a silly custom; or the other, who took notice of such a folly at such a time, and punished it by virtual excommunication.

answer given by a well-known Bishop to a Romanising clergyman, who wished for permission to preach in his surplice, and pleaded that his conscience, bound as it was to Rubricality, forbade his officiating in his gown. 'Of course, then,' said the Prelate, 'as you are so scrupulous in your obedience, you celebrate Morning and Evening Service daily?' The clergyman confessed that he did not; it would encroach upon his other duties, and so forth. 'Then I really think, sir,' replied the diocesan, 'that in future the less you say of your Rubrical conscience the better.'

This inconsistency is felt by some who yet are unwilling to impose upon themselves the burden entailed by their principles. They wish to have daily service, but do not wish to perform it. We find an advertisement from one such Incumbent who appeals to the public to help him in raising '*a fund to maintain the services of a Curate to perform daily service;*' and tells us that he would gratefully accept aid from '*any pious Christian who feels disposed to assist in such a work.*'* The following exhibits a similar mode of dealing with such embarrassments:—
'The Incumbent and Deacon of a poor district on the S. W. coast, who are endeavouring to bear witness to the truth of Catholic principles, amid opposition of the most decided character from those by whom they are surrounded, venture to hope that some CATHOLIC PRIEST, blessed with independent means, will come and help them for a few years, in their attempt to set the Church fully and fairly before the people. MONEY IS URGENTLY NEEDED for the expense of the Choir, &c.'†

The Tractarian, whose conscience allows him to dispense with daily service, is not much troubled with his spiritual duties during the week. He sets his face against most modern plans of parochial benevolence as Protestant inventions. He does not patronise the secular education of the poor; for nothing would induce him to take so Erastian a step as to put his school under Government inspection; which is (generally speaking) the only way to make it efficient. He doubts the propriety of pastoral visits to his poor parishioners, unless they are sick; because the Church has appointed no special office for that purpose. He is willing, however, to attend a death-bed when summoned; and he sometimes gives special dignity to such an errand, by marching through the village in his surplice. Moreover he has perhaps a few female penitents, who come to him occasionally for auricular confession. But these employments do not take much of his time. His principal energies are

* Guardian, Sept. 8. 1852.

† Guardian, Nov. 24. 1852.

devoted to the task of opposing 'Puritanism.' And as he knows that a practical protest against error is always the most effectual, he may display his repugnance to Puritanic heresy by attendances at balls and races. In fact, the frequentation of these amusements may seem as essential a part of the ~~One~~ creed as their renunciation is of the other.

But ball-going and race-frequenting, though the most effectual, are not the only modes in which the Tractarian clergy combat heterodoxy. They also amuse themselves with a chronic agitation, which has for its object the safety of the Church. The quintessence of this agitating spirit is concentrated in the 'Church Unions.' These are clerical associations (including sometimes a few laymen), which meet together at intervals, usually once a month, to make speeches and pass resolutions concerning things in general, and their own neighbourhoods in particular. Besides these periodical debates, there are other occasional opportunities for indulging in the luxury of ecclesiastical warfare. We have lately seen the obsolete form of choosing Proctors for Convocation galvanised into unexpected life, to give such partisans the excitement of an electioneering intrigue. Then there is sometimes a petition to be got ~~up~~ against Government education; sometimes a protest to be circulated against the Judicial Committee; sometimes a *mandamus* to be sued out, forbidding the consecration of an heterodox Prelate; and if nothing else be stirring, an address against that great fautor of heresy, the Archbishop of Canterbury, will fill up the vacant time.

The noise made by all this astonishes those who know how few are the makers of it. Provincial newspapers are always ready to print the proceedings of any local meeting, without too close a scrutiny into the attendance. There are also several London journals willing to fill their columns with accounts of any demonstration which seems to support the party that they advocate. In this multiplying mirror, the image of a single Tractarian is transformed into an assembly of divines; and a little knot of ambitious curates pass themselves off on the dazzled public as the leaders of ecclesiastical opinion.* It has been said that parties, like snakes, 'are guided by their tail, not by their head.' But perhaps it would be truer to say that the wagging of the tail is thought to indicate a motion of the

* In one case a 'Church Union' consisted for some time of a clergyman, his curate, his churchwarden, and his schoolmaster; and the resolutions and proceedings of this important body regularly filled several columns of the 'English Churchman.'

more important members when they are really quiescent. In the instance before us this mistake is fostered by the circumstance that the journals generally supposed to represent the High Church party, really represent its extreme section only. This, indeed, is equally the case on the Low Church side. For quiet and moderate men (whatever be their party) will seldom tear themselves from their daily duties to get up newspapers, to agitate against agitators, or to protest against protesters. Thus the High Churchman laments the violence of his 'Chronicle' or his 'Guardian,' and the Evangelical groans over the absurdities of his 'Record.' But finding no other paper free from similar faults, they continue grumblingly to take in the offending prints.

The agitation we have described cannot exist without involving much insubordination. Accordingly, the party which began with the watchwords of order and obedience, is now the most disorderly and disobedient in the Church. Every clergyman is pledged, not merely by acts of Parliament, but by Articles, by Canons, and by repeated Oaths, to acknowledge the Royal Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Causes. Yet we have lately seen the decision of the Queen in Council openly repudiated, with a formal publicity which exposed the guilty parties to the penalties of a *præmunire*. But it may be said that the Supremacy, though an Anglican, is not a catholic doctrine; and that a 'catholic mind' acknowledges subordination to the divinely appointed governors of the Church, not to the earthly rulers of the State. Such is, indeed, the profession of the Tractarian party. 'The Bishops,' they tell us, 'are the living representatives of Christ;' and again, 'Whatever we ought to do, had we lived when the Apostles were alive, the same ought we to do for the Bishops. He that despiseth them despiseth the Apostles.*' But, alas, these guides are only divine and apostolic so long as they side with their professed worshippers. If they venture to decide against them, they instantly become not merely fallible but heretical. Out of the whole body of English bishops, two only are now considered sound in Tractarian faith. And the scorn expressed even for their collective decisions, may be seen in the contemptuous denunciations hurled by these champions of Ecclesiastical Order against the Episcopal Monition to the Clergy, which was signed in 1851 by twenty-four out of the twenty-eight bishops on the bench. The party seems, in fact, to take a schoolboyish pleasure in showing the annihilation of Episcopal power, and the unlimited licence of disobedience

* Tract No. 10.

practically possessed by the clergy. Greenwood and Penry were hanged by Whitgift, Leighton was whipped and mutilated by Laud, for the use of language against bishops mild in comparison with that which every pamphleteering curate now uses with impunity. We were especially edified by one pamphlet which was published by a rustic pastor soon after the Gorham Judgment. The worthy man (who was Vicar of Puddleton Parva in the county of Wilts*) informed the Archbishop in all sober sadness, that whensoever he, the said Archbishop, should present himself as a communicant at the altar of Puddleton, he should be repelled therefrom. Imagine the vindictive satisfaction with which Archbishop Laud would have received such a document! and how pleasantly he would have noted in his diary, a few weeks afterwards, the results of its publication upon the ears, nose, back, and cheeks of the author! †

But if the Primate, by 'voluntary betrayal of his most sacred 'trust' ‡ has deserved such treatment from the faithful, at least the Bishop of London, we might hope, must command their grateful deference. He favoured not the heterodoxy of Gorham; nay, he stood alone among his brethren of the Privy Council in resisting the Institution of that obstinate heretic. And at the time, he was glorified by the members of the Sect as the pillar of orthodoxy. But this was when he gave a judgment in their favour; since then he has ventured to decide against them; and now he too is a mark for the scoffs of the 'Chronicle,' and the more polished sarcasms of the 'Guardian.' His fall is connected with a controversy which was brought before Parliament three years ago. It will perhaps be remembered that Lord Palmerston, when Foreign Secretary, displaced the Chaplain at Madeira. The Bishop of London, however, did not think the faults committed deserved so severe a punishment, and refused to withdraw the Chaplain's Episcopal licence. The ejected clergyman continued to minister to a section of the British residents, and the new chaplain was denounced by the seceding party as the worst of heretics. No sooner was he landed than his predecessor put into his hands a solemn protest. In this document (which, with its Appendix, fills up thirty pages of the Parliamentary Blue Book§ containing an account of these trans-

* From a desire not to expose a country clergyman to unnecessary ridicule, we suppress the name of this Wiltshire Vicar, and alter that of his parish.

† See Laud's detailed account (in his diary) of the execution of Leighton's sentence (Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. p. 57).

‡ Pastoral of the Bishop of Exeter, p. 12.

§ Correspondence respecting the British Chaplaincy in Madeira, printed by order of the House of Lords, 1849.

actions) the chaplain is informed that his 'assumption of the 'office *without licence from the Bishop* is a schismatical and 'unlawful act.'* His congregation are warned that if they attend his ministrations they will 'become partakers in the sins 'of disobedience and schism;† and innumerable quotations are gathered from old fathers and modern divines, to enforce the Ignatian maxim that 'the obeying of the Bishop is the necessary 'condition of Christian communion, and he that does not obey the 'Bishop is worse than an infidel.'‡ Who would have supposed that the very man who wrote this protest, and his followers who applauded it, would within three years be themselves defying the authority of the self-same Bishop? Yet so it was. The extravagance of their conduct induced the Bishop to withdraw his countenance. At once obedience was changed into rebellion. The Priest who had just stigmatised unlicensed ministration as worse than infidelity, himself continued to officiate for many months after his licence was cancelled. When he left the island, the extreme section of his partisans went yet farther. For the Bishop having, in the meanwhile, given a licence to the Government Chaplain, they refused to acknowledge its validity, on the ground that it was granted to a notorious schismatic. And when the Bishop desired them to recognise his nominee, 'as the only clergyman acting there under Episcopal authority,'§ they replied by new citations from the Fathers, directing the faithful to resist heretical bishops, and opened a church on independent principles.||

All this insubordination is defended by the Tractarian party on the ground of a higher allegiance. 'The Church of their 'baptism' is in danger, and they must defend it even against the successors of the Apostles. But here they are assailed by their Romish friends with the question, how they can venture, on their private judgment, to pronounce a successor of the Apostles guilty of heresy? Confounded by this difficulty, many of them are driven to renounce Church, baptism, and all. Some, indeed, have contrived to renounce their baptism without quitting their Church, which is stranger still. One of their leaders, in a work which he has lately published upon the Greek Church, openly avows that on the 24th of July, 1851, he presented a

* Above-mentioned Blue Book, p. 146.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 186.

§ Letter of the Bishop of London, September 1. 1852 (quoted from the 'Guardian').

|| 'I have reopened our church,' says their minister, 'falling back 'upon the general mission possessed by every priest for acting in special 'emergencies.' (Guardian, Dec. 29. 1852.)

document to the Patriarch of Constantinople, wherein he stated that, 'finding himself oppressed within the Anglican pale by a 'majority of heterodox, careless, or weak members,' he 'was 'desirous of obtaining admission into the orthodox Communion;' and that, to this end, he '*was willing to own the defective character 'of his former baptism, and to submit to conditional immersion.*'* The clergyman who thus proposed to renounce his baptism still retains his fellowship; and the Tractarian organ mentions his conduct without a word of censure.

The party whose salient features we have thus attempted to sketch, is (as we have intimated) more noisy than numerous. Its chief *habitats* in England are the two South-western dioceses; and we often find in the advertisements for curacies in the 'Guardian,' a proviso that the appointment must be in Exeter, or Bath and Wells. Another favoured haunt of the sect is among the Episcopalian Non-conformists of Scotland. These descendants of the Non-jurors, whose worship was, within living memory, subjected to the penalties of the law, still retain the spirit and temper, as well as the Liturgy, of Laud. Their bishops are elected solely by the clergy, and the clergy of each diocese average from ten to twenty in number.† It is natural that these functionaries should make up for their want of temporal importance by exalting their spiritual dignity. Their communion affords a refuge to those who, though disgusted with the Protestantism of the Church of England, cannot quite resolve to join the Church of Rome.‡ Several of these seceders have been elected to Scotch 'Bishoprics,' and amuse themselves harmlessly with playing at prelacy. For here they can lord it safely over their tiny flocks, and can wield the power of the keys without setting the country in a flame. We rejoice, how-

* Quoted by the 'Guardian' (March 23. 1853), from a work on the Orthodox Greek Church by Mr. Palmer, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. What would the Fellows of Magdalen of 1688 have thought of their modern successor?

† The three smallest Scotch 'Dioceses' contained in 1852 only 13 clergy apiece. The other day there was a fierce contest for the election of 'the Bishop of St. Andrews.' Sixteen clergy were brought to the poll, 8 on one side and 8 on the other, and the successful candidate, Mr. Wordsworth, was so far from affecting the *nolo episcopari* that he gave a casting vote for himself. It is but justice to say that he deserved a much higher honour than that thus obtained, being a man of real learning, and one who has done much for the cause of Christian education.

‡ We find from the official accounts that half the clergy now officiating as Episcopalian Non-conformists in Scotland were ordained in the English Church.

ever, that they have lately been restrained from publishing their excommunications against those who differ from them, by the decision of the Courts of Law, that such publication is libellous.*

Tractarianism also flourishes in some of our Colonies, where members of the party have been sent out as bishops. We have already expressed our hearty sympathy with the establishment of a Colonial episcopate; and we therefore can more freely lament the mistakes made in some of the appointments towards the close of Archbishop Howley's life. The Government very properly consulted the Archbishop on these nominations (the endowments having been subscribed by members of the Church), and the Archbishop having latterly fallen under the guidance of a small clique of Romanizing clergy, several bishoprics were given to their partisans. Thus we find it stated in a protest of some clergymen at Cape Town, that six out of every seven clergy in that diocese are High Churchmen.† The 'Guardian' applauds the Bishop for having reduced the Low Church to this insignificant minority. We own, that to us, such a victory shows neither the gentleness of the dove, nor the wisdom of the serpent. We were reminded by it that the same bishop, on his way to his own see, invaded a foreign island, and there publicly pronounced the British chaplain appointed by Her Majesty, a 'schismatic,' and the Consular Chapel a 'schismatical place of worship.'‡ We trembled for the Church, when we found that this prelate had arrived in England to claim a seat in Convocation. Had his claim been conceded, we suppose that the more ambitious Colonial bishops would have resided permanently in the Metropolis, and appointed deputies to perform their diocesan duties. As it is, some of them seem to spend half their time here, and we never see an account of any public festivity during the London season, without finding three or four of these *Episcopi minorum gentium* among the company. Xavier never returned from India, to play the courtier at Madrid; and, unless our Colonial bishoprics be given to men of Xavier's spirit, they have been created in vain.

The Tractarians are essentially a clerical party, and have but few lay retainers. Nor have they sufficient wealth and influence to attract so large a body of trading members as the Recordites. Still these followers of worthy Master Byends

* In the case of Sir W. Dunbar v. the Titular Bishop of Aberdeen.

† Guardian, Dec. 29. 1852.

‡ See the Parliamentary Blue Book on Madeira, pp. 142. and 204.

are not altogether wanting in the advertising columns of the Tractarian press. Pedagogues and schoolmistresses make, as before, the principal figure. There we find several 'establishments' where '*the pupils have the great advantage of attending the morning and evening prayers of the Church;*' and we are invited to send our sons to receive a 'CLASSICAL AND ANGLO-CATHOLIC EDUCATION,' where '*a limited number of pupils are received,*' and where, '*N. B. The Daily Service will be used.*'* Nor can we hesitate to place our daughters under the shadow of Episcopal protection in '*St. Margaret's College, Crieff, Perth-shire, for the education of young ladies.*' VISITOR, *the Bishop of St. Andrews.* * * * DANCING, *Madame Apolline Zuingle.*† Besides this class of advertisers, there are a few Tractarian tailors, who proclaim the merit of their *clerical frock-coats and cassock waistcoats*; several High-Church haberdashers, who supply *offertory bags*, and clothe the altar and the credence-table with mediæval millinery; and one undertaker, who professes (*mirabile dictu*) to make *Anglo-Catholic coffins*! But the most formidable tradesman of the party we have ever encountered was a polemical dentist, into whose hands it was once our unhappy lot to fall. We were ignorant of his ecclesiastical politics, and made an incautious reply to his first question, wherein he pressed for our opinion on the character of the Primate. Bitterly did we repent our folly. Plunging his brad-awl (or whatever that horrid instrument is called) right into the nerve of the tooth which he was stopping, he sternly corrected our heterodoxy, and consigned the Archbishop to the company of Judas. We instantly assented, tried to retract our previous blunder, gave up the Metropolitan to his doom, and inwardly acknowledged that martyrdom was not our vocation. But it was too late. Our jaw was ruthlessly seized, and speech was thenceforth impossible. During the succeeding hour, 'stretched on the rack of a too easy chair,' we listened to a lecture on the Gorham controversy, while every point of the discourse was emphasised by an excruciating poke into the living heart of the tooth. Vain were our attempts at recantation, vain our shrieks of agony. The merciless operator continued to storm against heresy, and stab against the nerve, till he thought he had punished us sufficiently. At last we were allowed to rise, with aching jaws, better qualified to appreciate the logic of Torquemada, and vowing that we had rather spend an hour even under a Recordite expounder than under a Romanizing dentist.

* From the English Churchman.

† Guardian, July, 1852.

Such proselytes, however, are very rare among the middle and lower classes. Indeed, the chief mischief done by the Tractarians is that they alienate these classes from the Establishment. The accession of a Tractarian rector is always followed by the overcrowding of old conventicles, and the erection of new ones. Not long ago, a worthy yeoman told us that he had been consulted by the farmers of a neighbouring parish, on a knotty ecclesiastical question. They had resolved, they said, to build a meeting house of their own, because their parson was a Papist. But they had not decided on the sect to which they should adhere, and came to ask their friend, who was a great authority among them, for his advice to guide their choice. At first he exhorted them to continue their attendance at church, and wait for better times. But finding that he could not prevail, he finally recommended them to erect a Wesleyan Chapel. 'I thought, Sir,' said he, 'as they would have a meeting house, that the *Methodies* was the nearest to the Church.' The clergyman who has thus succeeded in driving half his hearers into Dissent, seems often rather pleased than otherwise at his achievement. He congratulates himself that he has winnowed the corn, and fairly separated the chaff from the wheat. 'I have only twenty people now who come to church,' said a country rector—'but they are all sound churchmen.' Moreover, such a priest feels his labours lessened by the desertion, as he is not bound to take any charge of his schismatical parishioners, and gives himself no farther trouble about them, except that of crossing himself and spitting on the ground when he passes the Zion or Bethesda where they assemble.*

This exaggerated manifestation of High Church principles, mischievous though it be, is less disgusting than the stagnant form of the same party, which was so widely diffused in the good old days of Eldonian Toryism. Its adherents, always indolent and ignorant, were once politically formidable by their

* A clergyman of this party was walking with a friend through a great manufacturing town. As they passed a large and ugly building, 'How frightful,' said his friend, 'that St. Matthew's church is!' 'Church!' exclaimed the other, 'Is it a church? I always took it for a dissenting chapel, and treated it as such. I hope I may be pardoned.' 'What do you mean,' inquired his friend, 'by treating it as such?' 'Why' replied the first, 'whenever I pass a Dissenting chapel I cross myself, spit upon the ground, and say, *Get thee behind me Satan.*' It is fair to mention, however, that this gentleman has since joined the Church of Rome.

numbers and their wealth. Now they are fallen from their high estate, and are contemptuously denominated the 'High and Dry'; just as the parallel development of the Low Church is nicknamed 'Low and Slow.' There is so much analogy between these two fraternities, that it is best to consider them together. Their professed doctrines, indeed, are dissimilar, but these are only accidentally adopted, and make no essential distinction. In sluggish mediocrity, in hatred of zeal, in dread of innovation, in abuse of Dissent, they are in perfect harmony. The blundering and languid utterance, the want of life and fire in their style, the absence of anything in look, voice, or manner, which could touch the heart of their hearers, characterises both alike. If they write their own sermons, it is 'with drops of opium upon leaves of lead;' and such is the narcotic effect of these discourses that the most attentive listener can hardly retain his consciousness long enough to discover whether the preacher is to be classed among the 'Dry' or the 'Slow.' Indeed, a sermon of either class might often be turned into one of the other, by simply substituting 'Church' for 'Gospel,' or *vice versâ*, throughout the soporific pages. The only difference is, that the minister of the 'Slow' school, if he has a town congregation, sometimes soars into heights of rhetoric never attempted by his drier brethren. In such a case we can easily detect the use which the preacher has made of his *Dictionary of Similes* and his *Vocabulary of Synonyms*. Perhaps there may be more of doctrine in the 'Slow' discourse, more of ethics in the 'Dry.' Yet from such lips, truths the most awful and awakening fall flat and dead, and precepts of the purest morality become drowsy commonplace. But happily many of these worthies are wise enough to eschew original composition altogether. We find that both sections are provided with the means of escaping this laborious task, and yet deceiving the eyes of their congregation. The terms on which the 'High and Dry' are supplied, appear from the following monthly notice in the 'Guardian': 'TO THE CLERGY EXCLUSIVELY, whose parochial labours, &c. preclude the possibility of composition. The four plain practical sermons for February printed in MANUSCRIPT LITHOGRAPHY, (very legible) will be ready for delivery on January 21. Price of each set of four sermons 8s. . . . The services of a clergyman of great experience and unquestionable soundness and moderation have been engaged to write these sermons for the publisher.* To the 'Low and Slow' clergy, on the other hand, a similar announcement is made in the columns of the 'Record': 'IMPORTANT TO CLERGYMEN. A few

* Guardian, Jan. 1853.

'sets of Dr. Trusler's facsimile manuscript sermons may still be procured at the low price of half a guinea for the set of a hundred sermons.*' This is cheap indeed! Why should the 'Dry' be charged 2s a sermon, when their brethren are thus provided with twenty for the same sum? We cannot think that any difference in the value of the article can account for this enormous disparity in the price. Probably Dr. Trusler's manuscript is not so 'very legible' as his rival's, and the typographical superiority may explain the pecuniary disproportion.

The performance of service by these two cognate schools, is still more alike than their style of preaching. Slothful negligence and unfeeling stupidity is the pervading character of all their ministrations. The Church furniture is shabby, the music bad, the prayers mumbled, and the lessons mouthed.† Even in our Cathedrals themselves, where perfect architecture, venerable associations, and all appliances for vocal and instrumental harmony, would seem to insure to our Liturgy its fullest devotional effect, it is sometimes turned into burlesque by the slovenly irreverence of such performers. As an example, we will mention a scene which occurred in one of these Diocesan Churches, where the Prebendaries are bound to attend daily prayers for twenty-one days continuously in every year; the rule being that if a Prebendary misses a single service, he must begin his twenty-one days over again. One day an old Prebendary (high, dry, and gouty) came limping into his stall a minute after the service had begun. The Dean immediately turned to him and exclaimed, 'You must begin again, Sir.' 'Do you hear, Sir, what the Dean says to you?' shouted the Prebendary to the intoning Minor Canon — 'he tells you to begin the service again.' The inferior officer humbly obeyed, and complete victory crowned the Prebendal stratagem.

The two stagnant parties both agree in dislike of excitement and love for a quiet life. The 'Slow' school, however, being generally quartered in the towns, and maintained in some measure by pew rents, have no dislike to a crowded audience;

* Record, Nov. 11. 1852.

† Many clergy of both these schools misplace all the aspirates, and some, in reading the Lessons, adopt the rule of emphasising all the words printed in italics, which are really the least emphatic, being those supplied by the translators to complete the sense. We have ourselves heard a clergyman of the 'Bow and Slow' school produce an effect irresistibly comic by applying this principle in reading the following verse, '*The Prophet spake unto his sons, saying, saddle me the ass. And they saddled HIM.*'

on the contrary, they sigh bitterly over the vacant seats which too faithfully reflect the vacancy of their discourses. The 'High and Dry,' on the other hand, being usually possessed of permanent endowments, have a positive abhorrence of a throng. One of this party, an old Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge (now dead), held a living in the town. During his absence in a long vacation, he employed a deputy, who unexpectedly turned out a popular preacher. The whole aspect of the church was soon altered. From the emptiest church in Cambridge it became the fullest, and even in the passages standing room was hard to find. News of the metamorphosis reached the old incumbent in his country retreat, and he was at first a great deal discomposed. But after a few moments of meditation, he exclaimed, 'Filled my church, has he? never mind, I'll undertake to empty it in a fortnight.' We need not add, that the prediction was literally accomplished.

In their parochial administration, it is quite impossible to distinguish the representatives of one form of stagnation from those of the other. Both are equally negligent of their duties; both equally tenacious of their emoluments. When the Royal Commission was appointed, in 1849, for the subdivision of large parishes, one of the first letters which they received, was from the incumbent of an enormous parish with a population of many thousands under his charge. The Commissioners expected that it would contain an appeal for their assistance in the object which must be next his heart, an increased provision for the spiritual destitution of his flock. But the writer was of the 'High and Dry' school; and his letter was an urgent representation of the danger that loss of fees might result to the Incumbent by the subdivision of Ecclesiastical districts. Subsequently the object of the Commission was explained to this worthy pastor, and he was urged to consider the importance of providing at least one clergyman to every five or six thousand souls. His reply was candid: — 'They may do what they like with the souls, provided they leave us the fees.'

The main difference between these two species of drones, is a difference of wealth and position. As a general rule, the 'High and Dry' are rich, the 'Low and Slow' are poor. Both disgust us, but the former excite our indignation, the latter our pity. The former, however, are a class still indeed too numerous, but rapidly dying out; the latter, though comparatively few at present, are rapidly increasing. To them belong the uninteresting ministers who fill so many of the livings recently created; the incumbents of new districts, with large population and small endowment. Poor, as their preferment is,

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it is a temptation to the idle sons of ambitious shopkeepers, who enter the clerical profession to raise themselves in society, but whose training is not such as to raise them in moral or intellectual rank. It is to be feared, indeed, that so long as the process of multiplying poor incumbencies goes on (essential as it is to the very existence of the Church), without a corresponding improvement in clerical education, it must result in lowering the standard of the profession both in mind and manners, and assimilating it to that which now characterises the peasant clergy of Wales and Cumberland.

On the other hand, the most conspicuous among the 'High and Dry' men are the relatives or favourites of prelates long defunct, who flourished in those easy-going days when pluralities were not yet forbidden, nor sinecures abolished. Their youth was not fed with dreams of Catholic ideals, but inspired with more substantial visions of the comforts of an 'establishment';

'Wherein are various ranks, and due degrees;
The Bench for honour, and the Stall for ease.'

Their fortune was often made for them before they left the nursery. No sooner had they quitted College, than they became dignitaries of the Church. Prebends, rectories, and archdeaconries seemed to have been created that these children of the purple might take their ease, eat, drink, and be merry. Nor was public opinion then shocked by such nepotism. But that generation has passed away; and only a few relics of its abuses linger in the pages of the Clergy List, to point the moral of the Church reformer, or adorn the tale of the demagogue. We could almost pity the last survivors of that well-fed race, who are left bloated with pluralities and gorged with sinecures, to endure the indignant scoffs of a reforming age. They were but ordinary specimens of their breed, but their brethren have been swept away by the receding tide, and they lie stranded on the shore. By this perversity of fate they are doomed to gasp out their latest breath under the harpoons of a crowd of satirists. 'Hæc date poena, diu viventibus!'

These, however, never formed the bulk of their party, although they were its natural chiefs. Its main body consisted of country parsons, with fat rectories and fatter heads, whose numbers have been thinned down by the advance of intelligence, and the increase of religious feeling in the class from which they spring. Though never a theological party, they once formed a strong and rampant faction. But now their day is over; though still individually numerous, they have no collective

objects, and have almost ceased to influence the course of ecclesiastical politics.

Side by side with these various shades of High and Low Church, another party of a different character has always existed in the Church of England. It is called by different names; Moderate, Catholic, or Broad Church, by its friends; Latitudinarian or Indifferent by its enemies. Its distinctive character is the desire of comprehension. Its watchwords are Charity and Toleration. Its adherents love the Church of England for that very peculiarity which has most provoked the criticism of her detractors. She is reproached by Rome with Puritanism, by Geneva with Popery. Nay, some among her children lament that she has given too much colour to such reproaches. The Tractarian complains that she teaches 'with the stammering lips of ambiguous formularies'*; that she tolerates heterodoxy, and has no thunders for the Calvinist or the Erastian. The Recordite, on the other side, owns with a sigh that her Baptismal Service is calculated to mislead, and her Catechism hard to reconcile with Scripture. Her catholic sons, on the contrary, consider this balanced and compromising character as among her greatest claims to their admiration. If they wish for any change, it is only that the same principle should be pushed still farther. For they believe that the superficial differences between Christians are as nothing in comparison with their essential agreement; and they are willing that the portals of the church should be flung as widely open as the gates of Heaven.

The doctrines taught by this party are the same in which both High and Low Church are agreed. The Incarnation and the Atonement, conversion by Grace, and justification by Faith, are fundamental articles of their creed. They only differ from their brethren in believing that these doctrines have virtually been held by all Christians in every age; by Loyola and Xavier, not less truly though less clearly than by Latimer and Ridley. Yet though thus willing to own the Romanists as brethren, they are sincere and even fervent Protestants. But they conceive the essence of Popery to consist not in points of metaphysical theology, but in the ascription of magic virtue to outward acts; and against this idolatrous superstition they protest, whether it manifests itself in the Puritan or the Papist. Their other tenets may be generally described by saying that they embrace the positive and reject the

* Tract, No. 90. (1st. ed.)

negative side of the Anglican and the Evangelical systems. They join both in their exhortations, neither in their excommunications. With the Low Church, they teach that Scripture is the only rule of faith; but hence they deduce a conclusion which many Low Churchmen would repudiate, that all who believe the Scripture are members of the household of faith. With the High Church, they affirm the doctrine of Judgment by Works; and thence infer that salvation depends not upon the ritual but the life; that the fruits of the Spirit are the sole criterion of the Spirit's presence. A characteristic feature of their theology is the prominence which it gives to the idea of the *Visible Church*; an idea ignored in the teaching of the Evangelicals, and excluded from the creed of the Recordites. On this point the views of the Broad Party approach those of the High Churchmen; from which they differ principally in not restricting the universal commonwealth to any single form of outward government. They hold the Church to be a society divinely instituted for the purpose of manifesting God's presence, and bearing witness to his attributes, by their reflection in its ordinances and in its members. If its ideal were fully embodied in its actual constitution, 'it would remind us daily of God, and 'work upon the habits of our life as insensibly as the air we 'breathe.* For this end it should revive many good practices which save even a corrupt Church from utter putrefaction; such as 'daily services, frequent communions, memorials of our 'Christian calling presented to our notice in crosses and way-side oratories; commemorations to holy men of all times and 'countries; religious orders, especially of women, of different 'kinds and under different rules, delivered only from the snare 'and sin of perpetual vows.'† By these and other means they believe that it was designed, and that it is still destined, to realise the idea of Christian Brotherhood, and to be the true sign from Heaven for the conversion of the world.

This doctrine has not been to its votaries an idle dream. The writer who dwelt on it most fondly, and advocated it most earnestly, exemplified his theory with no insignificant results, though on a miniature scale. In his government of the public school committed to his care, he worked upon the model of that Christian commonwealth which was never absent from his imagination. The great reform wrought in the education of the upper ranks, with its many far-reaching consequences, is ascribed by all parties to his efforts, and has been in no small measure

* Arnold's Sermons, vol. iv. p. 307.

† Ibid., Introduction, p. 56.

accomplished by his disciples. The same views and feelings stimulate the exertions of those who are seeking to revive a true ecclesiastical government, and to reanimate the Church, by giving back those functions to her members which are now usurped by her ministers. Men who see in such a revival the best hope of Christianising her people, are eager to seize upon every feature of her actual constitution which favours their objects; to restore the order of deacons; to give modern duties to cathedral chapters; and generally, to breathe new life into all dead forms which are susceptible of adaptation to the wants of a living world.

But these wider schemes and aspirations do not lead them to neglect the work which they can already do with the actual means within their reach. The parochial clergy of this school look upon their essential function to be not merely 'to preach the Gospel,' or 'to set forth the ordinances of the Church,'—but to promote the highest good of every person under their charge. With this object before them, they consider their labours in the pulpit as but a small part of their office. Everything which can tend to the moral progress of their flock is comprised in the circle of their duties. The great advance which has been lately made in the secular instruction of the poor, is almost wholly due to this party in the Church. One of its members* was the first to show, both by precept and example, the kind of teaching really required by the people. He proved by his own success, that the children of an ordinary parochial school may be taught not merely to say by rote, but to understand and apply, the elements of natural science and of geometry. And he solved a still more difficult problem, by rendering such a school self-supporting. His books are now the manuals of every well trained schoolmaster, and his methods are adopted in all well managed schools.

Again we owe to this party the most successful efforts which have been made to reclaim the artisans of the Metropolis from the infidelity in which they are so generally sunk. Mr. Maurice has set the example of dealing with this difficulty in a frank and manly spirit, making himself the sympathising friend of those whose errors he was anxious to remove. Mr. Wilson, who, in his factory schools at Vauxhall, has carried on the same good work with still more success, and on a larger

* Mr. Dawes, now Dean of Hereford. Every one interested in popular education must be familiar with the full account of his labours at King's Sombourne, given in the successive volumes of the Minutes of the Committee of Council since 1847.

scale, states that he undertook his noble task as a disciple of Arnold.

By men like-minded with these, the humanizing influence of amusement has been brought to aid in the regeneration of the humbler classes; and religion is represented, not as sternly checking, but as sanctioning and augmenting, the pleasures of the poor. It is no slight cause of thankfulness, to hear that there are manufacturing villages in Yorkshire, where, under the superintendence of the clergyman, Handel's *Messiah* is performed by the operatives of the mills. Such cases are becoming daily more common; and in parishes thus administered we are sure to find the attractions of the alchouse and the ginshop, gradually superseded by those of cricket clubs and chess clubs, reading rooms, singing classes, and excursion trains.

In such measures, and generally in all the good works of the Broad Church party, two sections co-operate, which we may call, for the sake of distinctness, its theoretical and anti-theoretical sections. The opinions which we have ascribed to the party, are those of its theoretical members; and from these many of the other section would shrink with alarm. For, although they sympathise in the love of comprehension, which distinguishes their more advanced friends, yet they do not allow themselves to speculate on any relaxation of the terms of communion at present fixed by the Church. They advocate the fullest toleration of all within the pale, from Mr. Gorham to Mr. Bennett; the case of those without, they consider beyond their jurisdiction. This portion of the party, if less liberal than the other, is probably not less useful. By the absence of wide general views and speculative tendencies, they are less likely to provoke professional prejudice; and thus they are enabled more effectually to pursue the work of their calling, without let or hindrance. They are characterised by cordially throwing themselves into the existing system of the Church, and casting their doctrines and their minds into the mould of her twofold teaching. They neither stultify the Articles, nor mutilate the Liturgy; but heartily embrace the truths presented to them in each under a different aspect. They join the societies and exert themselves for the objects both of the Anglicans and the Evangelicals. They will not allow themselves to feel jealousy or suspicion towards any party which professes to fight under the banner of the Church. By this line of action, when pursued with a manly singleness of purpose, they often avoid the enmity which proverbially dogs middle courses, and sometimes even win universal popularity. No better example of such results from such conduct can be given, than the unanimous

approbation elicited by the recent appointment of Dr. Jackson to the see of Lincoln.

It will appear from what we have said, that the Broad Church are, to the middle of the nineteenth century, what the Low Church were to its beginning,—the originators of ecclesiastical reform, and the pioneers of moral progress. But there is one important difference between the two cases. The Evangelicals were united closely to one another, they acted as a compact body, they combined to carry common objects, and their views were advocated in Parliament by able representatives. The Catholics, on the other hand, have so little organisation or mutual concert of any kind, that they can scarcely be called a party at all. They are even destitute of that instrument, which every fractional subdivision of the smallest sects possesses, an organ in the periodical press. This is the more remarkable because among their ranks is comprehended almost every living clerical author whose name is distinguished in literature or science. There are in the present day, clergymen who have richly contributed to Classical Philology, to the Mathematical Sciences, to the Physical Sciences, to Secular History, to Ecclesiastical History, to Poetry, and to general literature. But all, with hardly a single exception, are Broad Churchmen. In theology, it is true, other parties have produced works of merit; but even there, the most valuable and original additions to the national stock have proceeded from the same quarter. Yet this school of opinion, so rich in eminent writers, is unrepresented in the press, except by the isolated publications of individuals. The reason of this is not hard to find. It is always easier to keep together a body of partisans on a narrow than on a comprehensive basis. The watchwords of party should be battle-cries, not notes of peace. The Catholic Christian, indeed, is engaged in warfare; but it is against moral evil, not against opposing sects; his weapons are self-denial, holiness, and love, weapons less easy to wield than excommunications and interdicts. It is not difficult to raise an army for the assault of Rome, or for a crusade against Geneva; but the Flesh and the Devil are less definite antagonists; and sometimes while we think we are in arms against them, we are really fighting on their side. A common hate is the cement to consolidate a party.

The only thing which would force the Broad party into an organised alliance, would be the revival of a representative assembly of the Church. In the deliberations of such a body, they would be compelled to a visible union, by co-operating in one line of action. Thus they would no doubt be enabled to

effect more than they can at present; but, on the other hand, they could scarcely escape the vices of partisanship, from which they are now exempt.

The Catholic views of this School are assailed, as might be expected, both by High and Low. One of the favourite arguments against them, is neither more nor less than the old Chrysippian sophism: 'You are willing,' says the objector, 'to include both A and B within the Church, on the ground that there is no vital difference between them. But there is as little difference between B and C, between C and D, between D and E, and so on. On your principles, then, why should you not include all the letters of the alphabet? In other words, if Dr. Pusey and Mr. Gorham are both admissible, how can you exclude the Unitarian, the Jew, the Deist, and the Pantheist?' This is easily answered by a retort; for the objector is himself willing to admit all the A's, the big A, and the little A, the black-letter A, and the Italian A; and he is as unable as his antagonist to show a gulf separating the last whom he admits from the first whom he excludes.

But another and more serious objection remains. It is said that this easy comprehension leads too often to careless coldness; that universal toleration is usually associated with universal indifference. It cannot be denied that this charge contains some ground of truth. The Catholic tendency of mind has its peculiar dangers, no less than the exclusive. The Broad-Church principles have (like those of their opponents), been pushed into exaggeration, and have sunk into stagnation. Restless spirits will proceed from the negation of dogmatic infallibility to Pyrrhonian scepticism. Sluggish natures will freeze without the fire of fanaticism. The natural indolence of men causes them to pass from the toleration of unimportant differences to the belief that all differences are unimportant. Thus, in the last century, the comprehensive Christianity of Tillotson and Burnet degenerated into the worldliness of the Sadducean Hoadly.*

* Hoadly defended (in his 'Reasonableness of Conformity') the practice of signing the Articles without believing them. Hume's correspondence contains his reply to a young clergyman, who had confessed his disbelief in Christianity, and asked the philosopher's advice. Hume recommends him 'to adhere to the ecclesiastical profession in which he may have so good a patron; for civil employments for men of letters can scarcely be found. It is putting too great a respect on the vulgar, and on their superstitions, to pique oneself on sincerity with regard to them. The ecclesiastical profession only adds a little more to the innocent dissimulation without which it is impossible to pass through the world.' (*Burton's Hume*, vol. ii. p. 187.) Scott's

And the unbelieving petitioners of the Feathers' Tavern* represented the opinions of many hundreds of their brethren whose scepticism was manifested, not by public protests, but by silent neglect of their duties and selfish devotion to their interests. But though the triple subdivision may be traced in the Broad party as well as in the others, yet its debasements have this peculiarity; that its exaggerated can hardly be separated from its stagnant form. For indifference to truth naturally leads to sensualism; and the sensualist is naturally indifferent to truth. The most universal sceptic believes in pleasure; the idolater of pleasure has no faith in God.

It is true that, at present, the comprehensive party in the Church cannot be accused of coldness or want of energy. Arnold was no indifferentist, and his followers have been no Epicureans. Nor have these opinions been, in our own days, the stepping-stone to infidelity. On the contrary, the unbelievers of our age and country have come from the ranks of the Puritans or the Romanists. Yet the history of the last century may well furnish a warning to the adherents of this theology. Their zeal not being sustained by conflict against antagonistic sects, has double need to be kept alive by purer stimulants. Their mental tendency leads them to make light of differences of opinion; but, if they feel tempted to imagine that Truth itself is matter of opinion, and Belief of no avail, let them learn from history no less than Scripture, that *Faith is the victory which overcometh the world*. And let them remember that such faith is not a speculative theory, but a practical energy; and that it will sicken and die, if it be not

'Force of Truth' is a remarkable autobiography of a man who was ordained on the same principles.

* In 1772, 250 clergymen presented this Feathers' Tavern Petition to Parliament. Its prayer was that the Petitioners might be 'relieved' from subscription to the thirty-nine Articles, 'and restored to their rights, as Protestants, of interpreting Scripture for themselves, without being bound by any human explications thereof.' The whole Petition, which is too long to quote here, is the most naïve avowal of dishonesty on record, and leaves the modern advocates of a 'non-natural sense' far behind. Paley, in the pamphlet which he published in defence of these Petitioners, acknowledges that they 'continue in the Church without being able to reconcile to their belief every proposition imposed upon them by subscription;' and speaks of them as 'impatient under the yoke' (*Paley's collected Works*, p. 362.). This pamphlet was published anonymously at the time, and it is said that when Paley was himself urged to sign the Petition on the ground that he 'was bound in conscience' to do so, he replied that he 'was too poor to keep a conscience.'

fed by acts of devotion, by habits of prayer, by deeds of self-denial, by exercises of love. If they would save it from extinction, and their own souls from moral ruin, let them visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and keep themselves unspotted from the world.

To ascertain the relative strength of the different sections into which the Church of England is divided, is not an easy task. At first it might be thought that the proctors elected to represent the Clergy in Convocation would furnish data for such a calculation. But these elections have become mere forms, and are seldom contested; and even in the few contests which have occurred, a very small proportion of the electors has taken part. The income of the different religious societies would give an element for determining the resources of the parties by which they are respectively supported: but it is impossible to find any society supported by only a single party. We may, however, deduce from this source some information bearing on the question. The subscriptions to the Church Missionary Society amount to about 100,000*l.* a year; those to the Propagation Society to about 50,000*l.* The former is supported by all shades of Low Church and Broad Church; the latter by all shades of High Church and Broad Church. Hence if we suppose the number of adherents of the parties to be proportional to the amount of their subscriptions, we arrive at the conclusion that the Low Church party is (including its lay and clerical members) more than twice as numerous as the High Church party.* Again, the Curates' Aid Society, supported mainly by the High Church, collects rather under 13,000*l.* per annum; the Pastoral Aid Society, supported mainly by the Low Church, collects a little above 30,000*l.* This leads to much the same inference as before.†

The circulation of the religious newspapers, on the other hand, seems to give a different result. The 'Record,' which is the organ of one extreme party, and the 'Guardian,' which is the organ of the other, have about an equal circulation. But here again it is impossible to eliminate the elements which prevent us from founding any accurate calculation on these data. Many take in these journals as good 'family newspapers,' without agreeing with their views. Moreover neither of the moderate

* Because $B + L = 2(B + H) \therefore L = 2H + B$.

† In the above statement we have only taken into account the income derived from subscriptions and donations; the other sources of income not affecting our present subject.

parties is represented by any newspaper. . And again the whole 'average circulation'* of both 'Record' and 'Guardian' together does not amount to eight thousand, whereas the number of clergymen in England alone is above 18,000.

The address to the Archbishop in favour of the Gorham Judgment, was signed by more than 3,200.† clergymen, of the Broad and Low Church parties; that against the Judgment by nearly 1,800 High Churchmen, including laity and clergy. This latter was signed by every Tractarian clergyman in England, and we have thus a proof that their number cannot exceed a thousand, for at least 800 of the signatures must have belonged to laymen or Anglican clergy.‡

As another mode of obtaining an approximation to the proportion of parties, we have gone through the Clergy List, marking the names of all the clergymen whose opinions we knew, to the number of about 500. The result of this examination has been, that supposing those unknown to us to be in the same proportions with those known, we should be led to classify the 18,000§ clergy of the Church of England as follows:—

High Church.	{	Anglican	-	-	-	3,500
		Tractarian	-	-	-	1,000
		'High and Dry'	-	-	-	2,500
Low Church.	{	Evangelical	-	-	-	3,300
		Recordite	-	-	-	2,500
		'Low and Slow'	-	-	-	700
Broad Church.	{	Theoretical	-	-	-	1,000
		Anti-theoretical	-	-	-	2,500

and about 1000 peasant clergy in the mountain districts, who must be classed apart. ||

The twenty-eight Bishops and Archbishops of England are divided in a somewhat different ratio; viz., thirteen belonging to various shades of High Church, ten to the Broad Church, and five to the Evangelical parties. But for obvious reasons we can scarcely ground any general conclusions on this datum.

* *i. e.* the number sold of each separate copy.

† This was wrongly stated as 2,300, in No. 193., page 66. note.

‡ This protest was sent for signature to every clergyman in England, by a London Committee. The address in favour of the judgment was only circulated privately by the efforts of a single clergyman, Mr. Goode; and to our knowledge it was never sent to many who would gladly have signed it.

§ The Clergy List of the present year gives the names of above 18,300 clergy in England; this does not include the Irish Clergy.

|| See No. 198. Art. 3.

But whatever may be the relative strength of these subdivisions, it is evident that the triple cord in which they interlace could not easily be untwisted; nor could either of its strands be cut, without a risk of severing the rest. The object of every wise Churchman should be to keep each of the main schools of opinion from extravagance on the one hand, and from stagnation on the other; and the existence of counteracting parties is a check providentially operating for this end. Nor should we forget that the differences which divide each from each are much exaggerated by party-spirit. Most of them can be resolved into mere disputes about terms, which might be ended by stricter definition. Those which lie deeper result from a difference of mental constitution and belong to the domain of metaphysics rather than of religion. For it is in theology as it is in philosophy; every distinct sect strives to represent and embody a separate truth. A few great ideas are intuitively stamped on the groundwork of human reason, but not illuminated with equal brightness. The idea, which, in one mind, stands out in dazzling light, in another is dim and overshadowed. Hence each idea has its exclusive worshippers. But as the understanding logically develops its favourite truth, it at length deduces consequences which seem to contradict some other truth equally fundamental. Then follows a conflict, which in a few minds produces absolute Pyrrhonism; but which more frequently issues in one of three alternatives. First, the mind may abandon the principle whence it started, considering it reduced *ad absurdum*, now that its logical consequences seem to contradict another axiom; secondly, the truth of both principles may be admitted, although their consequences seem irreconcilable; or thirdly, the consequences of the first principle may be embraced, and the modifying truth rejected. This last is the course adopted by extreme parties. Thus there are different stages in the development of opinion, each marked by the rejection or reception of some modifying truth, and each forming the halting-place of a different sect or school.* Nor is there any evil in this variety, so long as the truths of morality and religion are not contradicted. And even where we might, at first sight, suppose them to be so, (as for instance, in the case of fatalist opinions,) we must be cautious of yielding to this impression. For piety has a transmuting power, and often turns the inconsistency of the understanding into food for the goodness

* The same results follow, whether the principles be derived from reason or from Scripture.

of the heart. Therefore, instead of murmuring we should rejoice when we see the same character of Christian Holiness manifested under diverse opinions. For Christianity, embraced under one form, might have been rejected under another. All cannot see through the same telescope, but different eyes require the tube to be variously adjusted. And the image formed will at best be blurred and dim, unless charity furnish us with her achromatic lens, and blend all the rays into one harmonious brightness.

But is there then, it may be asked, no evil in the spirit of party? Are we preaching acquiescence in 'our unhappy divisions' which are so often the subject of official lamentation? That be far from us. Strife and enmity are justly lamentable. But the mischief is not in variety of opinion, but in variance of heart; not in theological idiosyncracies, but in unscrupulous partisanship. This last, the besetting sin of all parties, is most offensive in those which are contending for religion. And yet we fear that none is free from it. On the one side, if a renegade priest will make effective speeches against the Pope, and betray the secrets of the Church which he has deserted, the foulest scandals in his private life cannot shake the confidence of his admirers. On the other side, if a champion of orthodoxy is qualified by talents or position to render good service to his partisans, they will defend him though he be convicted of more than Jesuitical mendacity, or of sharp practice which would strike a provincial pettifogger off the rolls. It is not that men consciously resolve to become accomplices in immorality, but they wilfully shut their eyes to all evidence against their favourites, and bring in a verdict of not guilty before the trial has begun. In advocating mutual charity, we advocate no such toleration of wickedness. When meanness or hypocrisy is detected, let men give the largest scope to their indignation, the freest course to their invective. But let them not confine such treatment to rogues of the opposite party. Let them excommunicate the knaves of their own following. Let them be sure that a bad man cannot make a good Churchman, a good Puritan, or a good anything. And let them remember that it is a duty enforced upon us by the highest example, to expose the interior of whitened sepulchres, however fair may be their outward seeming.

Nor would we desire them to spare even lighter faults than hypocrisy, and more harmless absurdities than falsehood. For no absurdity in religious men can be entirely harmless; nor can the follies of pietism be altogether free from moral deformity. Hence it is the duty of a Christian to abate them as far as

possible. And this is the appropriate field for ridicule, which in theological argument is out of place. Its employment in this, its proper province, cannot lead to evil, provided we be careful not to forget our reverence for the reality in our contempt for the travestie. 'Are some ridiculous,' says one who spoke to a scoffing generation, 'and for that will you turn religion into 'ridicule? If you do, it will at last turn a Sardonic laughter.'*

But while we advocate the unsparing exposure of vice and folly, let us be careful to discountenance the use of unlawful weapons in the assault. Above all, let us disavow that tendency to settle theological quarrels by Lynch Law, which has lately disgraced our countrymen. If a clergyman is foolish, he may be laughed at; if he has introduced Popish rites and illegal ceremonies, he may be prosecuted in the courts of law. In either case it is shameful to hound on the mob against him. Yet we grieve to say that this method of attack has been resorted to by men who profess to advocate freedom of conscience. We shall not be suspected of viewing the so-called 'Exeter Synod' with any peculiar favour. Yet we could not learn without indignation that London agitators were stirring up the populace to interrupt its deliberations by violence. It is not long since we saw the congregation of a metropolitan church disturbed in their devotions by the outrages of a crew of ruffians, for the honour of Protestantism. And, only the other day, a clergyman was prevented from administering the Communion on New Year's Eve to some of his parishioners who wished to receive it, by a threat that if he attempted a 'midnight mass' the communicants should be dispersed by violence.* This is nothing less than religious persecution; and those who employ such poisoned weapons, will find their shafts recoil, sooner or later, upon themselves.

While civil discord thus convulses the Church, many of her children are falling away from her, and abandoning the distinctive doctrines of Christianity. We have already noticed

* Archbishop Leighton's Sermon to the Parliament, 1669.

† This happened at Exeter, a place which was also disgraced by the notorious 'Surplice riots.' The latter, however, had more apology, because they sprang from a feeling on the part of the laity that the clergy had no right, without lay consent, to introduce innovations into the service. No doubt the real remedy for these disorders, as for all the diseases of the Church, (as we are forced so often to repeat) is to restore its true organisation, and give to all its members a legitimate voice in its government. They would then have less temptation to employ Lynch Law.

the diffusion of infidel opinions among the lower classes; but the mischief is not confined to them. The highest ranks and most intelligent professions are influenced by sceptical opinions, to an extent which, twenty years back, would have seemed incredible.* This state of things, as far as the Upper Classes are concerned, has been directly caused by the dissensions of the Church. 'When Doctors differ, who shall decide' is the expression of an almost inevitable scepticism. These unnatural hostilities must cease, if we are ever to reconvert the Pagans of the factory, and the Pantheists of the forum. How, indeed, can we hope to move them, if we are unable to answer that most obvious retort of the unbeliever, 'I will hearken, when you Christians can agree upon the lesson which you want to teach me.' And how can we answer this, but by acknowledging a substantial unity of faith, and an absolute identity of holiness, in the midst of endless diversity of opinion? 'Oh what are the things we fight for,' says Leighton, 'compared with the great things of God!'+ Surely it is time that we should agree to differ about Prævenient Grace and Surplice Preaching, and turn to the true battle which is raging round us; a battle not between Anglicans and Calvinists, nor even between Popery and Protestantism, but between Faith and Atheism. We believe that the end is sure, and that Truth will conquer. But who can say how many ages of defeat may precede that final victory?

ART. II.—1. *A Chronological History of Voyages and Discoveries into the Arctic Regions before 1818.* By Sir JOHN BARROW.

2. *Arctic Voyages of Discovery since 1818.* By Sir JOHN BARROW.

3. *Parliamentary Papers on the Arctic Regions from 1848 to 1852.*

WELL nigh a thousand years have elapsed since Gardar Suaffarsan, a Swede, undertook the first voyage of Arctic discovery. A Scandinavian pirate in proceeding to the Faroe Islands, a short time previously, had been driven from his course

* It is true that, as far as the upper classes are concerned, the last half century (taken as a whole) has been characterised by a religious reaction against the fashionable scepticism of the preceding century. But in England the tide turned, ten or fifteen years ago.

† Leighton's Works, vol. iii. p. 480.

by a heavy gale of many days' continuance, and at last fell in with an island utterly unknown to the rude geography of those times. The mountains were high, and thickly covered with snow. The wanderer named the island Snowland. It was on his report that Gardar Suaffarsan, the predecessor of Parry, of Franklin, of Buchan, of Back, of James Ross, determined of set purpose to give his sails to the Arctic winds. This first voyage of northern discovery was undertaken A.D. 864. From that date until August of last year, when Commander Inglefield, in the small screw-steamer the 'Isabel,' advanced up Smith's Sound, at the head of Baffin's Bay, to 78° N., just 988 years have passed away. We are yet discussing the possibilities of a North-western Passage. We are yet in doubt whether a path can be found across the Pole by steering due north from Spitzbergen or thereabouts into Behring's Straits.

We dismiss the Scandinavian period of Arctic discovery as foreign to our present purpose. The second cycle of Polar voyages may be taken as from the year 1496, when the two Cabots discovered Newfoundland, until 1818, when Lieutenant Parry, in company with Sir John Ross, sailed for Behring's Straits. We take the third period as from the despatch of those expeditions until the present time. The reader will find that a wild legend is attached to every ice-bound cape and perilous strait during the second period named. The names of Hugh Willoughby, of Richard Chancellor, of Humphry Gilbert, of John Davis, of Henry Hudson, of William Baffin, of James Cook, of Hearne, Mackenzie, and others, cannot be passed over without a passing tribute of admiration when we speak of the heroes of the Polar Seas. It is possible that no very important results to our national wealth and national power have as yet arisen from the endeavour to penetrate into these frozen regions. The Davis' Straits whale fisheries and the transactions of the Hudson's Bay Company are the only qualifications which this broad assertion requires. But it is something to belong to a country which has produced men who in daily conflict with the powers of nature in their most appalling form displayed qualities so heroic.

Their ships get immovably wedged in floes of ice, upon which they are borne away at the will of a current they know not where. Worse still, with a crash and a hoarse rushing sound, the ice is shivered to pieces, whilst the ship cracks and trembles beneath their feet. These single masses are then tossed into heaps or ground into powder. The fog settles down; the compass gives no trustworthy sign. In the midst of this hamper the ship is swayed to and fro; every moment in all probability

will be her last. But discipline is preserved; the commander issues his orders, and the men obey them, as composedly as though they were bound on a summer cruise from the Start to Cawsand Bay. Such traditions as these are not without their value to a nation of seamen.

It is but just to give utterance to the admiration which every Englishman must feel when he is called upon to write or speak of the noble deeds of his countrymen. To lower the standard of heroic impulse by denying to it its due meed of praise, would be in every way an impolitic course. At the same time a moment must come when it becomes a paramount duty to inquire into the value of exertions which have long been directed, and in vain, to the attainment of a particular object. Even with heroes we must at length 'take stock,' and ask ourselves if we are justified in so large an expenditure of effort for such inadequate results. It may well be that, as in the case of alchemy and astrology, mankind may have obtained great collateral benefits from the various attempts which have been made to penetrate into the eternal ice, although the immediate object may not have been attained. It will be our duty then to consider seriously how much physical science has been advanced by these Polar expeditions; for from such considerations we might derive justification for the risks that have been run, and a certain consolation for the losses we have sustained. Nay, we would even go further than this. If the Humboldts, and Amegos, and Herschels, and Faradays, and Gausses of the world are prepared to tell us that, although all efforts to force a passage in the direction of Behring's Straits, either by Lancaster Sound or due north upon the meridian of Greenwich, may have been failures, still that from these expeditions they have obtained many valuable data which they could not have derived from any other source — data which serve as the foundations or buttresses of various sciences of practical use to mankind — then it may remain a matter for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, and of the people of this country, whether or no they will give their sanction to the despatch of further and similar expeditions. But let them be no longer directed to the attainment of an object, in all probability, visionary, and most certainly useless in a geographical and commercial sense. Let us no longer strain at the solution of a riddle, like Christmas children, because it is a riddle, especially where so terrible a penalty must be paid in case of failure. The Polar sphinx, like her old Theban prototype, admits of no middle course. Her enigma must be solved, or the bold questioner pay forfeit with his life.

In a paper such as this, not directly pointed at philosophical objects, we will not encumber the very serious question under consideration by involving with it details of physical science. Two words only by way of protest. We are deeply sensible of the advantages which are inseparable from all contributions to our knowledge,—under the heads of astronomy, magnetism, atmospherical electricity, meteorology, the tides, currents, and temperature of the ocean, pendulum observations, and so forth. There can be no reasonable objection to the despatch of expeditions similar to that of Sir James Ross to the Antarctic regions for objects of this kind, so that the risk to human life be not too great, and the importance of the end in view be commensurate with the cost and peril of the voyage. In the same way we would dissociate from the present question whatever relates to the establishment of new whale fisheries, either in Behring's Straits or in the untried waters between Nova Zembla and Spitzbergen. We have sufficient evidence of success in the first of these two cases to justify us in calling the attention of commercial men to the point; with regard to the second fishing ground proposed, it would be but politic that firms interested in the trade should give the matter their best attention. A new and powerful agent of progress in the shape of steam ships can be brought to bear upon future Arctic navigation. It is not for us to set limits to possibility in the face of those marvels which are becoming the occurrences of every-day life. All that we ask is that we should pass with becoming modesty and caution from the known to the unknown. Let us not by precipitancy make enormous sacrifices of life for the attainment of objects which may naturally be realised in a few years, if they are to be realised at all, without serious danger.

For we cannot forget, and the people of this country are not likely to forget, the mysterious disappearance of Sir John Franklin and his brave companions in adventure and misfortune. The efforts that have been made by our own Government, the repeated votes of the House of Commons, the constant sympathy and co-operation of the Russian Emperor, and of the more popular assemblies in the United States, afford the best evidence of the light in which this loss has been regarded, not only by the people of this country but by the whole civilised world. What consolation that mourning lady, of whom we will not speak in terms that might indicate her bereavement, may derive from the interest displayed by his fellow creatures in the fate of her lost and gallant husband, has been afforded her in no stinted measure. The Arctic regions have been ransacked in every spot to which our most daring navigators

had yet penetrated, and even beyond these limits, at no considerable risk of human life. Eight years have been now fully accomplished since Franklin weighed anchor at Sheerness. His return was looked for at the close of 1847; we are now in October, 1853. On the 12th of July, 1845, he wrote a letter to Mr. H. L. Corry, from the Whale Fish Islands in Baffin's Bay, and that is the last sign of life he ever gave to his friends in this country. A few days previously he had written to Colonel Sabine, explaining somewhat of his views and intentions, and calling his attention to the fact that at the date of his letter he was victualled for three years, that is to say, precisely until the 9th of July, 1848. Again, it is our duty to invite comparison between the date named and that of October, 1853. We are well aware that Sir Edward Parry, Sir James Ross, Sir John Richardson, Sir George Back, and other worthies of the Polar Seas, have given it as their opinion that Franklin might have prolonged his resources for a longer period by economising the stores which he took out with him from this country, and by the produce of his fishing nets and fowling pieces. We apprehend, however, that even the farthest period named by them has long since run out, save on the forlorn hope that far to the north, beyond the 80th degree of latitude, he may have found some green oasis in that unexplored Polynia, the approaches to which at least are guarded by barriers of ice so formidable that no ship's prow has yet penetrated beyond. What the portal to the Pole is we know: what may lie beyond that barrier we know not. Sir Edward Parry, Captain Beechey, Sir James Ross, Captain Pullen, and others, are there to tell us what they have seen when they made the attempt to penetrate this hamper which unites the two opposite conditions of fluidity and solidity. Let the mariner attempt to make his way by sea, and he will find himself wedged in a thick and immovable field of ice. Let the attempt be regarded as a voyage by land, and the bold adventurer will see the plain of ice shivered beneath his feet, and may esteem himself fortunate if he escape with life from amidst the shattered fragments. Even if he regain a firmer footing his observations of the heavenly bodies will soon inform him that the treacherous current beneath his feet bears him faster to the south than he can advance towards the Pole in a northerly direction by taxing his energies to their utmost limits.

Of personal testimony in favour of this sea, first, we find that Barentz, an old explorer, who wrote some two and a half centuries back, speaks of floating ice beyond Nova Zembla. From time to time many Russian fishermen and seamen have made

corresponding assertions. Thus Admiral Wrangell, in the year 1822, advanced from the mouth of the Kolyma over the ice to the 72nd parallel of northern latitude, when he saw a wide expanse of open sea. But, as this distinguished explorer himself admits, his discoveries leave the question of the Polar land, of which he had gone in search, entirely unsolved. Indeed, off Cape Jakan, he saw the loom of the land, and the subsequent discoveries of Captain Kellet, in the 'Herald,' confirm his testimony. The northern limit of the great island of Kotelnoi, which lies some 25° to the eastward of Wrangell's farthest, is 4° further to the north. On the 23rd July, 1827, Parry and his companions had reached $82^{\circ} 45'$ N. on the 19th easterly meridian. True it was that from Spitzbergen northwards he had travelled on a Polar sea, but what the condition of this Polar sea was, and what facilities it offered to the travellers, will appear in a subsequent portion of this paper. An officer who accompanied Sir John Ross in his first expedition, stated that in his opinion Smith's Sound, at the head of Baffin's Bay, must run high up to the northward, as he had clearly seen the sun at midnight touching the horizon in that direction. The hypothesis of this gentleman has been fully confirmed by the positive testimony of Commander Inglefield, who has succeeded in advancing up Smith's Sound to the 78° N. What he met with when he got there is best narrated in its proper place. We will, however, venture at once to say that his reception at 78° N. did not appear to give much promise of Elysian fields and oases nearer the Pole.

It should be observed that the question is no longer as to the existence of a great Polar Basin, if by the use of such a term we mean that the northern coast-line of America, Asia, and Europe has now been surveyed with tolerable accuracy and completeness, and that sea has been found to exist beyond. We know that, speaking broadly, there are twenty degrees of latitude between the northern shores of those continents and the Pole, and that this space, as far as it has been yet surveyed, is partly land, partly water, open at certain seasons, and closed at others. The problem of the North-western Passage has been all but solved. We do not say how long a period of human life would be consumed in the completion of the unprofitable and thankless task. The adventurer who made the bold attempt must have a physical organisation impervious to the rigours of climate, a commissariat abundantly supplied, we know not from what source, unless a dozen expeditions ancillary to his own afforded him all requisite co-operation; above all, a singularity of fortune such as no Arctic navigator has yet experienced. By

a combination of so many felicities, as Lord Bacon would have styled them, he might, indeed, succeed in his enterprise; but what benefit would accrue to himself or to humanity from his lucky endeavours we are wholly unable to suggest.

The question, then, no longer refers to the existence of this Polar Basin, which was asserted and denied with equal energy at the beginning of the present century. With the errors of past disputants we have nothing to do. As we look quietly over the arguments on either side, now that we are in a position to judge of their value by the light of actual experience, it appears to us as if there were little room for triumph either on one side or the other. To be sure a Polar Sea has been discovered, but it is a sea jammed full of ice and land, which presents about the same facilities for navigation as one of those Swiss glaciers which have furnished M. Agassiz with a subject for his ingenious speculations. No doubt there is a circular space of which the North Pole is the centre, with a diameter of 2400 miles, and, consequently, with a circumference of 7200 miles, or thereabouts, and this constitutes the Polar Basin. From their sources in Asia and North America mighty rivers pour down their tribute into this great space, to say nothing of the contributions from European Russia and Greenland. We know that the set of the current through Behring's Straits is N. E., and down Baffin's Bay, S. W.; flowing no doubt, through the multitudinous channels which intersect the Parry Islands. We know besides this just as much as our explorers have seen with their own eyes; as when Parry tells us that, being in latitude $82^{\circ} 45' N.$, he saw before him a clear and open space which he could not have reached in ships, and which, when he reached it, could neither be sledged over nor walked over; or when Commander Inglefield adds that, being well up Smith's Sound in $78^{\circ} N.$, he saw no land,—nothing but vast blocks of ice fiercely driven against his ship, and so he turned back. There is not one particle of trustworthy evidence beyond this, to inform us of what may be looked for within the 80th circle of northern latitude; and, with the experience of past mistakes before us, we are reluctant to place confidence in any but testimony of the most positive character. As yet our main efforts have been confined to forcing expeditions through to the westward by Barrow's Straits, or down the North American rivers to the Polar Sea, and so along its southern shore, east and west. Truth compels us to record the fact that the result of our efforts hitherto has been, not the discovery of a great open sea, but of ice-bound clumps of land, intersected with comparatively narrow channels of water. On the other hand, we

have as yet no right to assert that the space within the 80th circle of northern latitude is similarly occupied. It is a question which nothing short of actual discovery can set at rest. Of presumptive arguments in favour of the existence of this Polar Sea there is, of course, no lack. The sum of the water traceable into the disputed limits is contrasted with its possible channels of exit. What becomes of the Gulf Stream after it passes Cape North? What of the contributions from the great rivers? What of the balance of precipitation over evaporation in these frigid regions? From this theoretical preponderance of water over land a higher temperature follows; and the theory would seem to be confirmed by the known fact that the break-up of the ice moves from the north. At this point it may not be unadvisable to make brief mention of some suggestions which have been thrown out by a young German geographer, — Mr. Petermann, which have excited a good deal of attention, and which come before us under the sanction of Sir Roderick Murchison, the President of the Geographical Society.

In the address delivered by that eminent man at the anniversary of the Geographical Society, in the month of May of last year, we find the following passage: — ‘This laborious young German physical geographer (Mr. Petermann), who is now naturalised amongst us, has shown that, whether we look to the ascertained outlines of the land, the range of the isothermal lines in certain longitudes, the results of the annual summer debacles issuing from the mouths of the gigantic rivers of Siberia, or to the great predominance of water, and with it a milder climate, it is to be inferred that if a steam-vessel were to be steered, during the winter or spring months, directly N.E. from the British Isles, she might pass into the Polar Seas in a fortnight or little more, without encountering any serious obstacle, and thus be soon in a position which our own ships have been struggling to reach through defiles of landlocked water, encumbered by ice.’ Such is Mr. Petermann’s proposition, as attested by Sir Roderick Murchison. The opinion is backed by the fact already mentioned of Sir Edward Parry’s progress to N. 82° 40′ 23″, at which point there was no bottom at 500 fathoms, no land, little ice, and much rain. As a confirmatory presumption, Sir Roderick quotes information derived from certain seamen who passed the winter of 1823–24 upon Bear Island (74° 30′), and who neither saw packed nor floating ice, nor suffered from severe cold. The great masses of ice are held together to the land of the North Siberian shores during winter; in summer they are floated away, and render the sea in this region impassable. •

We are most anxious to do all justice to the suggestions of this gentleman, both from their ingenuity and from the high standing of Sir Roderick Murchison, who has lent to them, to a certain qualified extent, the authority of his name. It is competent to any of our readers who would wish to look more narrowly into Mr. Petermann's views, and the scientific reasonings on which they rest, to read his little pamphlet, 'The Search for 'Franklin,' &c. for themselves. If we hesitate in according our assent to his suggestions, it is because we find ourselves in presence of grave facts, which appear to us, in the present imperfect state of our information, greatly to militate against their correctness. In the first place, then, the President of the Geographical Society thought it but fair, even whilst stating Mr. Petermann's views with laudatory comments, to add that 'Sir G. Back, who was in the expedition of Buchan and Franklin, to the north of Spitzbergen, seemed to think that, to say 'nothing of darkness, the temperature would be too low in 'winter to admit working with the ropes among ice.' This objection, however serious, is, after all, but a collateral one, as far as the darkness is concerned. The open sea of which Mr. Petermann speaks might, of course, exist, although it might be impossible to see one's way across it. Not so with the question of temperature. Captain Scoresby, in his account of the Arctic Regions, gives the mean temperature of lat. 78° N., as 17° only. The thermometer ranges more highly in May and June, and reaches its superior point in the month of July. The lower ranges to satisfy the mean are, of course, obtained in the remaining nine months of the year.* 'During these nine 'months,' says Captain Scoresby, who speaks from twelve years' observations in the icy regions, 'ice is annually formed 'in the Spitzbergen Sea: neither calm weather, nor the proximity of land, is essential for its formation. Can it then be 'supposed that at the Pole, where the mean annual temperature 'is probably as low as 10° , the sea is not full of ice?' It is not true that the vicinity of land is indispensable for the formation of ice. If we were satisfied, as most assuredly we are not, that there is not an acre of dry land extant above high-water mark within the 80th or 81st degree of north latitude, we should still be far from the belief that it is possible during the winter or spring months to steer a steam or even a caloric ship to the North Pole and back again with success.

* Mr. Sharostin, however, declares, that during his residence in Spitzbergen, he found the coasts clear of ice for four, and sometimes for five months every year. (Letter from Captain Sabine to Davis Gilbert, Feb. 8. 1826.)

Captain Scoresby, in the very interesting work from which we have just quoted, describes to us, with the authority of an eye-witness, the process of the formation of ice on the open sea. He tells us that he has literally seen it 'grow' to a consistence capable of stopping the way of a ship with a brisk wind, even when exposed to the waves of the Atlantic, in N. 72°. We cannot afford space to quote his description of this interesting phenomenon at length, but the general drift of it is briefly thus: The earliest shape which ice assumes is called by the sailors 'sludge.' This sludge consists of small detached crystals, which resemble snow when cast into water too cold to dissolve it. This smooths the surface of the sea, as oil poured upon it might do. These crystals would unite, and form a continuous sheet, if the motion of the waves permitted, but they usually break into pieces about three inches in diameter. These pieces again unite, and, striking against each other on every side, become rounded at the edge, when they constitute what is called 'pancake ice.' These cakes again unite, and form larger cakes, say a foot thick and many yards in circumference. When the sea is perfectly smooth — and even within N. 80°, during the nine months named, the swell must occasionally subside, the wind now and then go down,—the freezing process proceeds far more rapidly; in forty-eight hours the ice will have become capable of sustaining a man's weight. Still water, for the rapid formation of ice, is always forthcoming in every opening of the main body at a distance from the sea. Let this process be carried on on a more extensive scale, and any openings that may be made in the central polar ice by the drift of fields to the S. and S. W. will soon be filled up. Such are the statements and views of a very keen observer, whose researches into this subject were carried on during seventeen voyages to the Spitzbergen or Greenland whale fishery.

At this point it is proper to make mention of the glimpses which Commander Inglefield caught last year of the supposed Polynia. This officer having failed in discovering any trace of Sir John Franklin and his party at Wolstenholm Sound, and seeing that the ice was open before him, determined to take advantage of the opportunity, and to dash boldly up Smith's Sound. The strait he found to be six miles across. 'I involuntarily exclaimed,' writes this officer, on entering the Sound, 'this must lead into the great Polynia of the Russians, and as the eye streamed forward into the clear expanse of apparently open water, which now occupied from seven to eight points of the compass due north of our position, I could not but admit to my mind that a great sea was beyond.' The

west coast of this new sea trended away to the north-west, and the eastern coast more and more to the eastward. At noon on the 27th August the 'Isabel' had reached $78^{\circ} 28' N.$, and then nothing but loose ice could be seen from aloft. The hypothesis that Baffin's Bay may find its termination at a more northern point than the one to which Commander Inglefield's researches extended is, of course, not excluded, although we admit that the observed configuration of the land would seem to imply the contrary. There was a northerly current setting up the Straits at about three miles an hour. Commander Inglefield has put it on record that at this point and at this time he could see no obstacle to his northerly progress. A contrary breeze, however, soon freshened into a strong gale, and this gale increased to a tempest, which fairly blew the 'Isabel' out of the Straits, and compelled her to heave to in a storm of wind which lasted thirty-six hours.

The conclusion upon the whole evidence with regard to the Polar Sea within $80^{\circ} N.$ would appear to be in favour of a very considerable preponderance of water over land within the limits indicated. We do not know much about the matter, but the little we do know points to such a conclusion. Should Sir Edward Belcher have steered due north up Wellington Channel, and return to tell the tale, he may throw some further light upon the subject. But when we come to ask ourselves if it be possible to navigate the sea with any kind of success, the evidence as yet shows that, during the summer months, all efforts at one point,—and that point one which is marked as peculiarly favourable,—have failed. We see no kind of ground as yet for believing that any further attempts which may be made up Smith's Sound will be attended with greater success than the advance made by Sir Edward Parry to the north of Spitzbergen. What more can be hoped for than little ice, much rain, and no bottom at 500 fathoms? Could the 'Isabel' have steamed her way through the obstacles which were overcome by Parry and his party? Most assuredly not. Parry, indeed, has said that when he quitted the ice, a vessel might have sailed to 82° ; that is, 150 miles further than the point at which Captain Buchan met with it, in 1818, in the 'Dorothea' and 'Trent.' Moreover, the S.W. drift of the ice across which Parry so laboriously struggled would seem to point to the conclusion of open water behind, but open water which would soon be closed by the process already indicated. In the summer months, then, the task has hitherto been found impossible. We more than doubt its practicability during any of the remaining nine months, when we remember the descriptions given by survivors of the intense

cold experienced in high northern latitudes during this period of the year. Sometimes the adventurer will be able to penetrate farther,—sometimes not so far,—into the icy barrier which encircles the Pole. The hope of one season will be the disappointment of the next; if, indeed, it may not be productive of yet more fatal consequences by alluring the victim too far within a grasp which may for a moment be relaxed, but is never withdrawn.

Thus much we have thought it necessary to say upon a point which has attracted some attention. We freely admit that the power of the screw-propeller has never been tried in a due northerly direction, and it is certain that more might be effected by the help of this auxiliary than with sailing ships. The openings in the ice seldom last for many hours. A screw steamer might avail itself to the utmost of any favourable chance, whilst one impelled by sails must twist and turn about, and in all probability lose many a golden opportunity. There can, therefore, be no objection, at any future date—if an adequate scientific or commercial cause of sufficient importance to mankind should justify the risk—to further attempts in this direction with these new mechanical aids. It would, however,—we confess it freely,—be somewhat difficult to convince us of the practical utility of such a project, when compared with the risk to human life inseparable from the attempt; and still more so to inspire us with any very sanguine hope that it would be carried to a successful conclusion. As far as Spitzbergen there is safety—any scientific operation which must be carried on in so high a latitude can there be undertaken in perfect security. Mr. Sharostin, a Russian, has passed thirty-nine winters in Spitzbergen, and resided there once for fifteen years without quitting the island. Much may be done from this point by watching opportunities, and proceeding with due caution—beyond it we enter upon unknown yet certain danger.

We may now turn to the other point from which endeavours have been made to penetrate the mysteries of the Arctic Regions, reserving to ourselves the right of making brief mention of Captain Buchan's and Sir Edward Parry's Spitzbergen expeditions, as they fall into the continuity of the tale. We propose then to indicate, in a few brief notes, the progress and results of Arctic discovery between the years 1818 and 1845, the year in which Sir John Franklin sailed from England for the last time; because, from these memoranda, the present aspect of the question, as far as it bears upon the probable fate of the lost navigators, will be best understood. We shall, at least, by this kind of retrospective glance, put ourselves somewhat in the

position of those who have served their apprenticeship amidst the Polar Sea. In recalling to mind the exact boundaries of what has been explored we shall ascertain the quarters to which Sir John Franklin would in all probability have directed his course, and where it is likely that remains of his party may yet be found — if, indeed, any such spot exist within the reach of man. It will also be our duty — our most painful duty — to recall attention to the fact, that the safe return of any one of the previous expeditions may be considered miraculous, even upon the showing of the hardy and gallant sailors who directed the operations. Certainly Sir Edward Parry, Sir George Back, Captain Lyon, Sir James Ross, are not persons of susceptible nerves — not exaggerators, not braggarts. Now, if men cast in this iron mould tell us, that for days and weeks, aye for months together, they despaired of release from the icy prisons in which their vessels were confined, whilst the crystal blocks in which they lay embedded were borne madly hither and thither at the wild will of the unseen current and the overmastering storm; a very strong and very melancholy presumption is inevitable from such statements made by such men as to the fate of the missing expedition. Thus stands the account —

1. John Ross to Hudson's Bay in the *Isabella* and *Alexander* - - - - - 1818
2. Buchan and Franklin to Spitzbergen. *Dorothea* and *Trent* - - - - - 1818
3. Parry's first voyage. *Lancaster Sound*. *Hecla* and *Griper* - - - - - 1819-20
4. Parry's second voyage. *Hudson's Bay*. *Fury* and *Hecla* - - - - - 1821-23
5. Lyon. Ross's. *Welcome*. *Griper* - - - - - 1824
6. Parry's third voyage. *Hecla* and *Fury* - - - - - 1824-25
7. Parry's fourth voyage beyond Spitzbergen. *Hecla* - 1827
8. John Ross's second voyage. *Regent Inlet*. *Victory* Steamer - - - - - 1829-33
9. Back. *Hudson's Straits*. *Terror* - - - - - 1836
10. Franklin. *Lancaster Sound*. *Erebus* and *Terror* - 1845

In order to make our catalogue of Arctic expeditions complete, it will be proper to add the following names, which for obvious reasons have been omitted from the above list: —

1. Franklin's first land expedition - - - - - 1819-21
2. Clavering (with Colonel Sabine) Spitzbergen, Greenland. *Griper* - - - - - 1823
3. Franklin's second land expedition - - - - - 1825-26
4. Beechey. *Behring's Straits*. *Blossom* - - - - - 1826-28
5. Back. Land journey (search of Ross) - - - - - 1833-35
6. Dease and Simpson. *Shores of Arctic America*. Boats - 1836-39
7. Mr. John Rae. *Melville Peninsula* - - - - - 1846-47

We shall have occasion in the conclusion of this brief narrative to call attention to a second and a third series of similar expeditions which have been despatched since 1848 in search of the missing navigators, some of which are yet unaccounted for. It may well be that they may return to us in safety, but it is impossible to feel entire confidence in so happy a result.

It is then by the North-western Passage through Lancaster Sound, that the greatest efforts have been made to pass from the Atlantic into the Pacific. The same object has been pursued upon the old track of Frobisher and Hudson, and with no better fortune. We may, indeed, point with legitimate pride to the survey of the northern coast line of America, from Icy Cape at the head of Behring's Straits (the spot which Cook attained in 1778) to the northern point of Melville Peninsula, as a substantial fruit of Polar research — but, certainly, expeditions undertaken in great ships have had little to do with such a result. The first effort was made in 1818 mainly through the instrumentality of the late Sir John Barrow, to whose unwearied assiduity the subsequent progress of Arctic research should in fairness be attributed. The object of Arctic discovery seems to have been the main idea of his life. He was singularly fortunate in his position, and in the agents who rose up under his hands; if, indeed, it be not a misapplication of terms to apply the term of 'agents' to such men as Parry, Franklin, Back, James Ross, Richardson, and others of the like stamp. Let us style them rather allies in a great cause. Sir John Barrow had the ear of every successive Board at the Admiralty — he could appreciate the merits, and give weight to the suggestions of his friends, and he did so with the most complete effect. The shortest method of attaining a correct idea of how much has been effected by these Polar Paladins is to turn to the map prefixed to Sir John Barrow's 'Chronological History of Arctic Voyages, before 1818.' It will there be found, that the space in our maps north of the Arctic Circle, and between the west coast of Greenland and Behring's Straits, might well nigh have been marked with a wild beast, or a sea-monster, such as we find in our old geography books to indicate perfect ignorance. Mackenzie and Hearne were supposed to have obtained glances at the Polar Sea from the mouths of the Mackenzie and Coppermine Rivers; but the whole coast line of America, from Icy Cape indefinitely to the east, was a perfect blank. The whale fishers were acquainted with the west coast of Greenland, and the Hudson Bay traders with the bay which bears the name of their company. The eastern sea-board of Cumberland Island had been laid down as it might be. Baffin's

Bay was rather asserted than believed in; and there was an end of the hydrographical knowledge of the time in these regions. It was determined, in the year 1818, to despatch two expeditions: the one with orders to steer north up Davis' Straits, and then westerly, when a sufficient high latitude had been attained; the other was to make its way due north upon the meridian of Greenwich or thereabouts. The direction of the north-western attempt was entrusted to Sir, then Captain, John Ross, and to Lieutenant Parry; Captain Buchan and Lieutenant Franklin were to make their way across the Pole.

Of the first of these expeditions the less said the better. We have no desire to renew the acrimony of past controversies; but it is certain that Sir John Ross failed in carrying out his instructions. He frittered away much precious time on the west coast of Greenland, he sailed up to the entrance of Smith's Sound, but did not attempt to penetrate further north. The expedition then steered S. W., passed the mouth of Alderman Jones' Sound without attempting to enter it, and so to the opening of that great inlet into which Parry penetrated with so much effect the ensuing year. Sir John Ross, however, contented himself with proceeding a short distance to the westward, — and then, but he shall speak for himself:—
 'At three o'clock, on the 21st of August, I went on deck, and soon after it completely cleared for about ten minutes, and I distinctly saw the land round the bottom of the bay forming a connected chain of mountains with those which extended along the north and south sides. . . . The mountains which occupied the centre in a north and south direction were named Croker's Mountains, after the secretary to the Admiralty.' It is almost superfluous to add, that these mountains have been proved to be but the baseless fabric of a vision. Their supposed situation is about the 81st westerly meridian. Parry and his companions sailed over the spot a few months afterwards and proceeded triumphantly until they struck 110° W. without knocking their heads against mountains or continuous coasts of any kind. It will be sufficient if we add, that the only positive result of Sir John Ross's expedition was the circumnavigation of Baffin's Bay, and the confirmation of the statements of the old navigator.

We must dismiss Captain Buchan's expedition to Spitzbergen with parenthetical mention. There is no work from which a general idea of the icy regions can be more pleasantly gained than from Captain Beechey's narrative of the expedition, although nothing was gained from it but honour and a very charming book. We pass at once to the great epoch in Arctic discovery,

when EDWARD PARRY entered upon the scene in the quality of chief commander. There was evidently a peculiar fitness and congruity between the work to be done and the man appointed to do it. Even with the full conviction upon our minds of the awful dangers to which navigators who penetrate too far into the Arctic regions are exposed, it is difficult to read a hundred pages of the four quarto volumes, which contain the history of his adventures, written by himself, and not to feel that however great the embarrassments in which he may be involved,—no matter how appalling the dangers which may threaten momentary destruction to his ships,—in some way or other the cool judgment and unerring tact of the commanding officer will liberate the expedition. A sailor who took service under Parry might have felt that he stood an excellent chance of being locked up for a winter or two amongst icebergs, and of spending the remaining portion of the year in conflict with the elemental powers—but if his captain had promised that he should be paid off at Portsmouth on a particular day at no matter how distant a date, he might have given directions for a jollification at the ‘Blue Posts’ or the ‘Admiral Keppel,’ on the day named, in full security that his tryst would not be broken. More than this—he would have known that his perils and labours could not be unproductive of a result under such consummate guidance. If the service in hand were to be carried out, it would be carried out; if the powers of nature proved too strong for the daring of man, at least no stain would be attached to those who had been worsted in the endeavour. It would be improper to judge of Sir Edward Parry’s four volumes according to the usual canons of literary criticism. There is no attempt at fine writing about him. The author has been appointed to penetrate to a particular point, to make certain scientific observations, to maintain good health, good humour, and good discipline amongst his crews, and to bring them back safe to England. He does all this, and every day he jots down memoranda of the day’s work—careless of form, so he make himself intelligible.

Our contracting space warns us that we must not enter into any minute details of Sir E. Parry’s three first expeditions. We omit more particular mention of these on the assumption that they are the best known of all the Arctic voyages. Two maps at this moment are lying open before us: the one, the map prefixed by Sir Edward Parry himself to the account of his voyage, published in 1821; the other is a little ‘Chart of the Arctic Regions,’ published the other day by Wyld, which professes to give the subsequent discoveries, even down to the advance of Commander Inglefield up Smith’s Sound. In

the course of a quarter of a century how much has been effected in a westerly direction beyond 'Parry's farthest!' True it is that to the south—thanks to the two Rosses and Mr. Rae, and also to Parry himself upon a subsequent expedition,—we are acquainted with the extent and character of Prince Regent's Inlet down to the southern point of Committee Bay. Captain Austin and Mr. Kennedy have helped us to a more accurate knowledge of the shores of North Somerset and of Prince of Wales's Land. To the north, Wellington Channel has been navigated by Captain Penny for a considerable distance; but to the west Parry has reached the furthest point which has ever been attained in ships. Let all due honour be given to the active and intelligent officer who made his way further on foot.

A short time after his return to England from his third voyage, we find the same indefatigable officer engaged in conducting a sledge-boat expedition from Spitzbergen in the direction of the North Pole. The credit of the idea, we believe, is due to Sir John Franklin, who commanded the 'Trent,' in 1818, when Captain Buchan in the 'Dorothea' was the chief. None of the Arctic expeditions is more interesting than this one, but we must dismiss it from our present attention with this brief note. As is well known, the attempt proved fruitless. On the 26th of July the party reached $82^{\circ} 40' 23''$ in long. $19^{\circ} 25'$ E. The thermometer stood in the shade 31° to 36° , and 57° in the sun; no bottom at 500 fathoms. They had only accomplished 172 miles from the spot at which they had left the 'Hecla,' having traversed by their reckoning 292 miles, of which 100 by water before entering on the ice. Parry calculated that, in reality, he and his party had gone over 668 statute miles of distance, as they had been compelled to cover the ground three and sometimes five times over. We leave it to the consideration of all persons in authority whether the result of this enterprise, conducted under such auspices, and terminating in such a failure, should not be esteemed conclusive against any further endeavours of the like kind to reach the Pole by means of sledges and boats, at least in the summer season.

In the whole series of Arctic expeditions we know of nothing more purely horrible than the narrative of Captain Lyon's voyage to Wager River in the year 1824. Such relief to the feelings as may be afforded by the contemplation of human courage and human fortitude, maintained at their utmost point of tension for days and weeks together, no doubt can be derived from this brief history. But the thought will force itself in, why were men cast in so heroic a mould nailed as it were to the rack for so long a time? We know what English

seamen are; there is no occasion for sacrificing a ship's crew every now and then, that we may feel secure that the traditional heroism of the British navy has not departed from it. Does it not make the mind of the reader burn with a more than common indignation when he finds the late secretary to the Admiralty, Sir John Barrow, coolly remarking, 'It must, indeed, be owned that there was more than a usual want of prudence in sending such a small and sluggish ship alone through a navigation which had been proved and condemned as one of the most difficult and dangerous of the many difficult ones that occur in this part of the Arctic Seas.' Well might Captain Lyon write on entering the scene of his trials, that he felt most forcibly 'the want of an accompanying ship, if not to help us, at least to break the death-like stillness of the seas.' It was boisterous enough before they had done with it. The duty required of them was to reach Wager River or Repulse Bay, to cross Melville Peninsula, and so to proceed along the northern shore of America to Point Turnagain. Nothing of all this could be accomplished. As soon as they reached Rowe's Welcome a heavy sea set in, and a thick fog settled down; the tide was falling; every anchor was let go; there was a low beach astern of them, upon which they were dragging down, and on which the surf was rolling to an awful height. It was certain death to all had they been driven upon it, or had the tide fallen lower. There was nothing more to be done: 'Every man,' writes Captain Lyon, 'brought his bag on deck and dressed himself, and in the fine athletic forms which stood exposed before me I did not see one muscle quiver, nor the slightest sign of alarm. . . . And now that every thing in our power has been done, I called all hands aft, and to a merciful God offered prayers for our preservation. I thanked every one for their excellent conduct, and cautioned them, as we should in all probability soon appear before our Maker, to enter his presence as men resigned to their fate. The officers sat about wherever they could find shelter from the sea, and the men lay down conversing with each other with the most perfect calmness.' But we will not harrow up the feelings of our readers by any further commemoration of such scenes. All honour to the officers and crew of the 'Griper,' but we trust that British seamen may never again be sent in such a ship and on such an errand!

The authorities at the Admiralty appear soon to have lost sight of the history of this voyage. In the years 1836-37 the present Sir George Back, an officer whose character for ability, enterprise, and courage stands deservedly high, was despatched

in a single ship—the ‘Terror,’ and well-nigh on the same business. Near Southampton Island the ship got firmly wedged in the ice, and for ten months Captain Back and his companions were driven hither and thither at the will of the winds, the currents, and the tides. At times the thermometer stood at 33°, the ice encompassed them on all sides, ‘crashing, grinding, and rocking.’ For four months of the time the case was still more desperate, when the ship was cradled in a single floe, which was borne about without possibility of control upon the current. We cannot, however, dwell upon the details of the voyage. It was unsuccessful, as the voyage of Sir Edward Parry and Captain Lyon in the same direction had been. As in the case of the sledge-boats by Spitzbergen, or the expeditions down Prince Regent’s Inlet, we would again suggest the legitimate inference from these failures. Let the passages by Roe’s Welcome and Fox’s Channel henceforth remain the pages of a sealed book. Indeed, the subsequent additions to our geographical knowledge in this quarter would render further endeavours of a similar kind simply unnecessary.

One more voyage exhausts the catalogue given on our first list, with the single exception of Sir John Franklin’s last expedition, upon which we are not, unfortunately, in a condition to speak. In the year 1829, Captain John Ross, in company with his nephew, the present Sir James Ross, sailed for Prince Regent’s Inlet in a small steamer called the ‘Victory.’ The cost of the expedition, which was a private one, was defrayed by the late Sir Felix Booth. Captain John Ross proceeded down Prince Regent’s Inlet to Brentford Bay, which is thirty miles south of Cape Garry, the furthest point which had been seen by Parry. The coast, which is a prolongation of the coast of North Somerset,—as we now know divided from it only by Bellot’s Strait,—was considered by Captain Ross to be that of a yet undiscovered land, which he named ‘Boothia,’ after the gentleman who had supplied him with funds. There can, however, be no doubt that Captain Ross conducted his expedition with great spirit, even to a degree of rashness. The ship was pushed down as far as Felix Harbour, and from this point some very important excursions were made by Captain John Ross and his nephew. Amongst other fruits of the expedition must be named the determination of the situation of the North Magnetic Pole—a result attributable to the scientific skill of the present Sir James Ross,—and the partial survey of the western shore of Boothia. It will be sufficient if we add that Commander James Ross in the course of his survey of the north-west coast of Boothia reached some straits, which he crossed, and

found himself upon an island. From this island, again, he passed over to that which Mr. Simpson has since proved to be also an island, and which is now known as King William's Land. This was the furthest westerly point attained by the expedition. They were obliged to abandon their ship at Felix Harbour, and make their way up by Fury Beach to Barrow's Straits. The Straits, however, were found impracticable, and they were compelled to fall back upon the stores at Fury Beach, and so to pass their *fourth* winter—the winter of 1832—in the icy regions. It was not until the night of July 25. 1833 that they succeeded in reaching Navy Board Inlet in their boats. The party was soon aroused with the joyful intelligence that a ship was in sight. By a most singular coincidence this vessel turned out to be the 'Isabella,' of Hull, the very ship in which Captain John Ross had proceeded to the Arctic regions for the first time in 1818. He and his companions now enjoyed a felicity given to few; namely, that of hearing the particulars of their own deaths, and the grief which their loss had occasioned.

We do not propose to enter at all into the particulars of any of the expeditions mentioned in the second list. The trip made by Captain Clavering with Colonel Sabine on board, to Spitzbergen and Greenland, holds forth no lesson, and the same may be said of Captain Beechey's run to Behring's Straits, and of his advance to Point Barrow. The two wonderful expeditions of Sir John Franklin, in company with Sir John Richardson and Sir George Back, will always remain as amongst the most astonishing feats performed by men who survived to tell the tale. We cannot picture to ourselves scenes of greater desolation than those in which a few jaded and starved men might have been seen staggering through a wilderness destitute of food and hope, now plucking a rare tuft of 'rock-tripe,' now sinking exhausted on the ground; the murder of poor Hood, the righteous retribution inflicted on the treacherous Iroquois,—all must be too familiar to our readers to need repetition here. But we must not pass over the fact that the well-nigh entire survey of the coast of North America, from Icy Cape to the northern point of Melville Peninsula, has been accomplished by the exertions of the brave and skilful men whose names are recorded on our second list. Surely, now-a-days, it must be unnecessary to refer in terms of praise to such narratives as those of Captain Back and Mr. Rae, or to Mr. Simpson's description of how much has been effected on the shores of North America by the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company.

We now arrive at that point in the history of Arctic dis-

covery which still continues to occupy the attention of the civilised world: we mean the disappearance of Sir John Franklin and his companions. Were the authorities of the Admiralty justified in despatching a further expedition in the year 1845 in search of a North-western Passage? Surely the apprehensions that had been aroused in the public mind by the protracted absence of the two Rosses, some twelve years before, should have been sufficient to inspire hesitation as to the propriety of any such step. Captain Parry, indeed, had been arrested off Melville Island. Sir John Franklin, therefore, was directed to push forward in the latitude of $74\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ till he reached the longitude of Cape Walker, or about 98° W. From that point he was to shape a course southward and westward as directly as might be for Behring's Straits. On the 26th May, 1845, Sir John Franklin sailed from Sheerness with the 'Erebus' and 'Terror,' Captain Crozier being the second in command.

We have already mentioned the two letters written by this officer from Baffin's Bay to Mr. Corry and to Colonel Sabine. The subsequent fact that the expedition was seen by whalers is of little account, as we now know that they passed the winter of 1845-46 in a small cove between Cape Riley and Beechey Island, facing Lancaster Sound. Here Captain Ommanney discovered three graves bearing the names of W. Braine, R.M., and John Hartnell of the 'Erebus,' and John Torrington of the 'Terror.' Here, too, were found remains of the observatory, carpenter's shop, and armourer's forge. Upon the hill-side and beach were fragments of wood, metal, and clothing, with stacks of empty meat-tins. They had already consumed largely of their supplies. Subsequently traces were found to the northward of Port Innis, Wellington Channel, which might, however, have belonged to a travelling party which had subsequently returned to the main encampment. These again consisted of fragments of clothing, preserved meat-tins, and scraps of papers. One of these bore the name of M'Donald, the medical officer to the expedition. The mind dwells with anxiety upon these few relics of so much life and heroism, as though it were possible to extract from them some meaning or suggestion. But, no! inexplicable mystery! at this point we are thrown upon the vague chapter of possibilities. Every man has his hypothesis, and his suggestion. All of these, which have reasonable colour and semblance, have been acted upon. Expedition after expedition has been sent out, but all in vain: beyond the few points already named, and the flying phantasmagoria of the two ships seen by the 'Renovation,' we have not a fact to go upon. The

mystery remains as impenetrable as at the first moment it was proposed for solution.

Already, in 1847, the Admiralty had begun to conceive alarm as to the fate of the missing voyagers. Instructions, bearing date January 3. 1848, were given to Commander Moore to take the brig 'Plover' round to Behring's Straits, in order to afford relief to Sir John Franklin and his party, should they have succeeded in making their way so far through the ice. We have heard from the 'Plover' in August, 1852. She has been moved up to Point Barrow under another commander, no tidings have been received of the lost navigators, and the anxiety is now for another expedition, which has been sent through Behring's Straits in search of the first. Commander Moore was to be joined by Captain Kellett with the 'Herald,' and together they were to do what was best to be done, to enter inlets, to search the coasts, to question the natives; above all, to send out boat parties to the eastward, which were directed to co-operate with a party which was to descend the Mackenzie River under the command of Sir John Richardson. The service was subsequently accomplished, but it led to nothing. Sir John Richardson, the companion and friend of the gallant Franklin, in a moment postponed every other engagement and consideration to the duty of succouring his former chief. Again he visited the 'barren grounds,' in which, in other days, he had known the extremes of human misery; but not all his devotion, not all his singleness of purpose, could avail against the powers of nature. He was forced to return, delegating his sacred trust to Mr. John Rae, a gentleman every way worthy to occupy his place,—we can give no higher praise.

But we must not anticipate the course of events. It will be our duty presently to mention specifically what has been accomplished, or rather attempted, on the side of Behring's Straits, and on the mainland. To go back a few months: it was as early as February, 1847, that Captain Hamilton wrote to the most distinguished Arctic navigators, requesting their opinion as to the course that should be pursued. Sir John Ross had written to the Admiralty offering his services to proceed up Barrow's Straits in search of the expedition. His idea was that Franklin had got his ships into the drift ice at the western end of Melville Island, a situation from which he would be unable to extricate them, and that as the drift of the ice on the spot indicated was to the southward they must have been carried to land seen at a great distance in that direction. Sir John's proposition was to secure his own ship in harbour at the southern side of Barrow's Straits,—to carry succour, if possible,

to the voyagers, if not, to await them; and meanwhile to survey the western coast of Boothia, in order to decide the question of a north-west passage. The proposal was referred to Sir Edward Parry, but did not meet with the approval of that officer. His suggestion was to push supplies to the northern coast of America by the assistance of the Hudson's Bay Company, and to direct the Commander-in-Chief in the Pacific to send a small vessel to look into Behring's Straits, which vessel was to despatch a boat expedition to the eastward in the manner pursued by Captain Beechey in the 'Blossom.' Sir James Ross advised, independently of this machinery, if no tidings were received of the expedition before the conclusion of 1847, that preparations should be made for sending out two ships in search, of equal power with the 'Erebus' and 'Terror,' which should pursue, as nearly as might be, what might be supposed to be the same route. Colonel Sabine looked for the lost voyagers at Behring's Straits, and recommended that an especial look-out should be kept there. He even considered it as probable that they might come down the Asiatic or the American side of the Strait should they have succeeded in reaching the open sea spoken of by Wrangell. Captain Beechey appears rather to have looked to the probability that Sir John Franklin should have got down upon Victoria Land, his first great effort being made S. and S. W. of Cape Walker, and have there been blocked up by the ice. In this case he was of opinion that Franklin would rather have directed his boats up Sir James Ross's Straits and Regent's Inlet than have attempted a long land journey upon the continent of America. We should add that in a second memorandum, Sir James Ross, enlarging upon Parry's idea, suggested the propriety of establishing a dépôt ship somewhere about Behring's Straits, approving specifically of the employment of the 'Herald' and the 'Plover' in the manner afterwards carried out.

Our notice of so many distinct expeditions as were recommended, and despatched, must necessarily be confined in a very small space. It should be remembered that we are now writing six years after these recommendations were offered, and these expeditions organised. It cannot be said, even now, that they were ill-advised or ill-judged. They all proceeded upon the idea that Franklin was blocked up in some inlet or creek in that well-nigh unknown district of the Arctic Sea which lies between the 90th and 120th W. meridian, and between 70° and 75° N., or thereabouts. Either he was still here confined in the ice, or he had succeeded in passing through these land-locked inlets with his ships, or finally, and more probably, he had abandoned

his ships at some point or other of this inhospitable region, and was endeavouring, he and his 137 companions, to effect their escape in boats. But, in what direction? there lay the main point of the question. Some, as it has been seen, were of opinion that Franklin would make for the Hudson's Bay settlements; others looked for him in Barrow's Straits by way of Prince Regent's Inlet; others at a still more easterly point of the same straits. Again, it was suggested that he might have made his way so far to the east, that he would next be heard of in Behring's Straits. Measures were taken to meet all these contingencies. Whatever may be our opinion as to the propriety of sending Franklin upon such an errand at all, certainly the Board has not been remiss in organising and carrying out measures for his relief. These commence even from so early a period as two years after his departure from England.

In the first place, as we have already stated, Sir John Richardson and Mr. Rae left this country for the Mackenzie River on the 25th March, 1848. On the 4th of August they reached the sea, and narrowly searched the whole coast from the Mackenzie to the Coppermine. No traces of the missing voyagers were found, and the explorers were convinced, from the inquiries they instituted amongst the Esquimaux, that no ships had passed within view of the mainland. Sir John Richardson seems to have become more and more impressed with the opinion that the ships were probably shut up in some of the passages between Victoria, Bank's, and Wollaston Lands. Franklin, in his opinion, would have complied literally with the Admiralty directions, and have pushed directly for Cape Walker, and thence to the S. W. without looking to the S. or N. of Barrow's Straits. This opinion was expressed after the result of the fruitless journeys undertaken by Sir James Ross and his companions was known. In pursuance of his own idea, and in compliance with their instructions, Sir John Richardson left Mr. Rae to complete his search in the quarters indicated, and returned to England in 1849. We should add that in the autumn of the same year Mr. Rae was joined by Commander Pullen, who had come with a party of twelve from the 'Plover' to the Mackenzie from Wainwright Inlet. This officer, as he was on his return to England, was met by counter-orders from the Admiralty, which directed him to move back eastward as far as Cape Bathurst, and then strike out to sea direct for Bank's Land. This incident naturally falls into place here in connexion with Mr. Rae's efforts in the same direction. It must be sufficient, if we add, that after a failure owing to the inclemency of the weather, Mr. Rae, in May, 1851, succeeded in

crossing over the straits to Wollaston Land, and examined that district between 140° and $117^{\circ} 17'$ W. without finding any passage to the north, without coming on any trace of Franklin's party, and without obtaining any tidings of them from the Esquimaux, nor were his subsequent exertions attended with better effect as far as Franklin and his party were concerned. Another disappointed hope.

The efforts made by Sir John Richardson and Mr. Rae were to be contemporaneous with the advance of the 'Plover,' Commander Moore, into Behring's Straits, supported by Captain Kellett in the 'Herald.' No success, as far as the main object of their expedition was concerned, attended the efforts of these gentlemen. In a geographical point of view, Captain Kellett made an important addition to our knowledge, by the glimpse he caught of land almost identical in position with that seen by Admiral Wrangell, off Cape Jakan, in 1822. How if there should be a vast mass of land at this point, or, more probably, a mass of islands, like that round Melville and Barrow's Straits? Be this, however, as it may, Captain Kellett in due time departed, and the 'Plover' was placed in Kotzebue Sound for the winter. Lieutenant Pullen had previously quitted her at Wainwright Inlet, from whence, as we have already mentioned, he made his way to the Mackenzie River, and joined Mr. Rae, after a most arduous and dangerous passage. Thus, then, the whole northern coast of America, from Behring's Straits to the Coppermine, had been carefully examined in the course of 1848-49, without tidings of the missing expedition. The attention of the Indians and the Esquimaux, and of all the Hudson's Bay Company stations, and of the Russian stations on the Colville, was earnestly directed to procure any tidings of the lost voyagers. No tidings have ever been received.

In conjunction with these efforts we must now mention the searching expedition sent out under the command of Sir James Ross. This attempt, too, like all others to succour the doomed voyagers, terminated in absolute failure. In this instance, again, the Admiralty cannot be said to be obnoxious to the reproach of having employed inefficient agents, or entrusted them with insufficient means. No name on the list of Polar explorers stood higher than that of Sir James C. Ross, who had returned, five or six years previously, from the Antarctic regions, where, in the course of four years, he had greatly distinguished himself, both as a seaman and a scientific observer. Two ships were put under his charge, — the 'Enterprise' and 'Investigator'; the first, a vessel of 540, the second, of 480 tons. The united complement of the two ships amounted to

136 men,—just three men less than Franklin took with him. On the 12th of June, 1848, this expedition left England, and after meeting with considerable difficulty from the ice in Baffin's Bay, succeeded in reaching Possession Bay on the 30th August. Barrow's Strait was examined nearly to the entrance of Wellington Channel. Thick ice, choked up the passage, and after an attempt to find winter quarters near Cape Rennell, on the opposite coast, the ships were finally brought up at Leopold Island. The situation cannot be considered a bad one, with reference to the end in view, as being a central point at which the four great highways of this region unite, or nearly so. Sir James Ross, moreover, appears to have had little choice in the matter. At Port Leopold, then, they remained during the winter, and early in the spring of 1849, travelling parties were sent out in every direction. Sir James Ross himself advanced along the northern shore of North Somerset as far as the little island of which Cape Bunny forms part. In every direction save south, nothing could be seen but heavy hummocky ice. To the south the party proceeded for some distance, but came upon no traces of the missing expedition. During Sir James Ross's absence, the northern shore of Barrow's Straits, and the eastern and western shore of Bryant's Inlet had been examined as far as was practicable; but all was in vain. Finally, he appears to have come to the conclusion that Franklin could not have been detained in that part of the Arctic regions, and that the only safe ground of reliance must be placed in the operations of Sir John Richardson on the northern coast of America. What remains to be told is melancholy enough. The story certainly does not bear upon the fate of the lost ships, save in so far as it affords an example of the perils of Arctic navigators. At the latter end of August 1849, the 'Enterprise' and 'Investigator' succeeded in getting clear of Leopold Harbour, and a course was shaped for the north shore of Barrow's Straits with the view of examining Wellington Channel, and then proceeding to Melville Island. When the explorers arrived about twelve miles from the shore, nothing but an uniform sheet of heavy ice was seen to the westward. On the 1st September the ships were beset in the loose pack. Ridges of hummocks were thrown up around them. The thermometer fell to zero, and the whole body of the ice was formed into a solid mass which formed one entire sheet extending from shore to shore in Barrow's Strait. Every man on board the two searching ships had made up his mind that they were destined to pass the winter where they were, when suddenly the wind shifted from east to west, and the whole body of ice began to drive eastward at the rate of eight

to ten miles daily. Thus, in the centre of a body of ice more than fifty miles in circumference, the two vessels were carried hopelessly along in a position in which human skill and courage could be of little avail indeed. It is almost unnecessary that we should recall the reader's attention to the similar situation of Captain Back in the 'Terror,' twelve years before, in Hudson's Bay. Nothing now was anticipated by the crews but certain destruction; for on the west coast of Baffin's Bay they were well aware that upon the shallow banks they would meet with so many grounded icebergs as to render it well-nigh impossible that they should escape destruction. They were slowly borne along until they were abreast of Pond's Bay, when they saw a number of icebergs stretching along their path, and resigned themselves to their doom. At this moment, as though at a given signal, the field of ice was shattered into fragments; all sail was made, warps were run out, and the crews succeeded in springing the ships past the heavy floe-pieces, and thus reached the open water. It had, however, become impossible to do anything more that season, as every harbour was closed, and signal was made to shape a course for England. The ships were brought home in safety in the last days of October, 1849.

Great disappointment was felt at the failure of this expedition, for expectation had been highly raised. Early in 1849 the 'North Star,' under the command of Mr. Saunders, had been despatched with supplies and provisions to Sir James Ross; but by a curious enough coincidence at the very time the 'Enterprise' and 'Investigator' were being drifted down Lancaster Sound, as every body supposed, to certain destruction, the 'North Star,' which had been sent to their succour, nearly shared the same fate near Melville Sound in the northerly part of Baffin's Bay. It was on the 21st September that as the 'North Star' was being borne along upon an ice-field, a huge iceberg was descried just across their path. The very obstacle which threatened them with destruction proved their salvation. A corner of the field struck against the berg; the effect of the blow was to spin the field round, cut it open, and release the ship. It is not without great pain that we call attention to such incidents as these; but when Arctic navigators are missing for eight years, it is irrational to dismiss from our calculations all recollection of what has happened to persons similarly circumstanced. On the 21st of September, 1849, there was not one chance out of a hundred that the 'Enterprise' and 'Investigator,' the ships that had been sent out to succour Franklin, and the 'North Star,' which had been sent out to succour the 'Enterprise' and 'Investigator' should have escaped destruction with total loss of all men

on board the three ships. The 'North Star' wintered in Wolstenholme Sound, and was not able to get clear of her winter quarters until August, 1850. That we may for the moment dismiss the ships from our consideration, we will here add, that in August 1850 she fell in with certain other searching ships which had more recently sailed from England and the United States, and which we shall have occasion presently to mention, landed her supplies in Navy Board Inlet, and returned safe to England in the end of September, 1850.

With the adventures of the 'North Star,' the first series of expeditions in search of Sir John Franklin and his companions concludes. Recapitulating these in order, we find that Commander Moore with the 'Plover,' and Captain Kellett, with the 'Herald,' were sent to guard the Behring's Straits' outlet, should it so have happened that Franklin had succeeded in penetrating so far east. A boat party from the 'Plover' was despatched under the command of Lieutenant Pullen to the Mackenzie, whilst Sir John Richardson and Mr. Rae, making their way through the Hudson's Bay settlements, carried on the examination of the west from the Mackenzie to the Coppermine. Next, Lieutenant Pullen was directed upon Banks' Land, from Cape Bathurst, whilst Mr. Rae undertook to make what search the powers of nature would permit in Wollaston and Victoria Lands. Sir James Ross, meanwhile, was appointed to follow upon Franklin's course down Lancaster Sound and Barrow's Straits, whilst Mr. Saunders was despatched after him the following year, with supplies and instructions to prolong his examination of the various inlets into Barrow's Strait. We shall consider all the expeditions which have been since despatched until Sir Edward Belcher's, as forming part of a second series of efforts to follow up the search of the missing navigators.

First, let us direct our attention to Behring's Straits. At this point we still find the 'Plover' stationed as depôt-ship: she had passed the winter of 1849-50 at Chamisso Island. In the summer of 1850 she had again been joined by the 'Herald,' and again, the two ships bore up for the north until they were turned back by the pack-ice. But a more serious attempt was intended by way of Behring's Straits, and was actually carried out in January 1850 by the despatch of the 'Enterprise' and 'Investigator' under the command respectively of Captain Collinson and Commander M'Lure. The ships were separated at sea. On the 15th of August, Captain Collinson with the 'Investigator' reached Wainwright Inlet, and endeavoured to push for the east, but was turned back by the ice. He reached

the meridian of Cape Barrow, and then having satisfied himself that further progress with the ships northerly and easterly was simply impossible, he was compelled to return to Point Hope. We are most happy in being enabled to state that the *Panama Herald* of December 25. 1852, mentions that the 'Enterprise' had been recently seen by American whalers. With regard to the 'Investigator,' with Commander M'Lure, we know that she was seen by the 'Herald' off Point Hope on the 31st of July, 1850, steering for Point Barrow, which place she must have reached nearly a fortnight before the 'Enterprise.' We know, moreover, that it was Commander M'Lure's declared intention to push his ship into the ice off Cape Bathurst if he could get there, or upon the 130° W. meridian, and so endeavour to reach Banks' Land. Supposing all to go well, and his ship to be liberated in due course, his next effort would be to get to the northward of Melville Island, and to penetrate in the direction of Jones's Sound. If the ships could not be extricated, this officer was to make his way in boats and sledges either to Leopold Harbour or the Mackenzie according to circumstances. The ship is victualled until September of the present year; but in Commander M'Lure's last despatch (July 20. 1850), he mentions that their provisions might be spun out so as to yield another year's supply. We have nothing further to tell about the 'Investigator' and her crew.

Along the northern coast line of America the most vigilant watch is kept, not only at the Hudson's Bay posts, but by the natives, who have been roused to undertake researches in every direction. It must be confessed, that in this quarter hope has long since given way to discouragement, and discouragement is sinking into despair. It is not conceivable, had Sir John Franklin and his party been compelled to abandon their ships at any point between Melville and Barrow Straits and the northern coast of America, that they would not long since have succeeded in reaching the continent had such been their intention. It is of course possible that they might have perished somewhere in this region, either by a sudden and overwhelming calamity, or in the course of their endeavours to arrive at a place of success. But the calamity, if it occurred there, must have occurred long since. It seems absolutely incredible, even with what we know of the inhospitable nature of the Arctic regions, that some of the party should not, in the course of these many years, have succeeded in reaching a point, which, on the worst supposition, could not have been above three or four hundred miles distant from the spot at which they were stopped. The northern coast of America, and the westerly region about Behring's Straits, as we have shown, were provided for; it next becomes our

duty to mention the efforts made for the relief of the lost travellers by way of Baffin's Bay and Lancaster Sound, subsequently to the return of Sir James Ross in 1849.

Our rapidly contracting space warns us that our mention of these expeditions must be of the briefest kind. We the more readily acquiesce in this necessity, because, as far as Sir John Franklin is concerned, all these expeditions have been unsuccessful, and because we shall simply be dealing with that small section of the polar regions to which our former remarks must in some degree have familiarised the reader. The ships of which we are about to give a list were directed, with one exception, upon the track of Parry and the two Rosses, and have not succeeded in adding much to the information with which we had already been furnished by these remarkable men. Captain Penny—let honour be given where honour is due—discovered open sea up Wellington Channel. Mr. Kennedy, in the 'Prince Albert,' in company with a most humane and gallant officer of the French navy, Lieutenant Bellot, traced the narrow Straits that separate North Somerset from Boothia, and conducted an expedition upon the main of Prince of Wales's Land, which, taken in conjunction with Sir James Ross's earlier discoveries, and the subsequent expedition of Mr. Rae to Victoria Land, would seem to show that a communication actually does exist between Barrow's Straits and the channel on the north of America by an inlet running south of Cape Walker; in other words, by such an inlet as the one contemplated by the Admiralty instructions to Sir John Franklin. Every credit is also due to Captains Austin and Ommanney for their exertions, and for the additions they have made to our hydrographical knowledge on the west of Prince of Wales's Land, in Melville Straits, and at the mouth of Jones's Sound, and more particularly to Lieutenant M'Clintock for his advance to the most westerly point yet attained. But it is not necessary to enter into details of these expeditions, as they have not succeeded in throwing any light upon the fate of Franklin and his companions, beyond the one point to which we have already adverted; namely, that they passed the winter of 1845-46 at the mouth of Wellington Channel. Thus then stands the list, exclusive of the Behring Straits expedition, consisting of 'Enterprise,' 'Investigator,' and 'Plover,' and of Mr. Kennedy's subsequent voyage alluded to above.

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|----|---|------------------|---|---|--------------------|
| 1. | { | Resolute | - | - | Captain Austin. |
| | | Assistance | - | - | Captain Ommanney. |
| | | Pioneer (screw) | - | - | Lieutenant Osborn. |
| | | Intrepid (screw) | - | - | Lieutenant Cator. |

- | | | | | |
|----|---|-------------------|---|-----------------------|
| 2. | { | Lady Franklin - | - | Captain Penny. |
| | { | Sophia (tender) - | - | Mr. Stewart. |
| 3. | { | Advance U. S. - | - | Lieutenant De Haven. |
| | { | Rescue U. S. - | - | Mr. Griffin. |
| 4. | { | Felix - | - | Sir John Ross. |
| | { | Mary (tender). | | |
| 5. | | Prince Albert - | - | Commander Forsyth. |
| 6. | | Isabel - | - | Commander Inglefield. |

All these expeditions have returned home *re infectâ*. Nothing has resulted from their efforts but the single discovery of the first winter encampment. It would, of course, be idle to enter upon any discussion of mere rumours, such as that of Adam Beck and the Esquimaux, which have been raised and set at rest. We must deal with facts, not with rumours; but we are still left drifting about the sea of conjecture.

If we do not speak in detail of the gallantry and ability displayed by Captain Austin, Captain Ommanney, Commander Forsyth, Captain Penny, Mr. Kennedy, and Lieutenant Bellot in the course of the various expeditions above enumerated, it is not that we are insensible to the value and character of their services. More particular mention of one would be injustice to all the others, and considerations of space forbid the attempt to assign to all their due meed of praise. But we should indeed be obnoxious to the charge of ingratitude, were we to conclude these remarks without offering a tribute of thanks to the people of the United States, and more especially to the Senate, and to that princely merchant, Mr. Grinnell, for their sympathy and exertions on behalf of our lost countrymen. If the 'Advance' and 'Rescue' have not discovered any traces of Franklin and his companions, certainly it has not been for want of effort on the part of the brave men who undertook the charge of the expedition. Expressions of praise in such a case, we feel, would be misplaced. The people of the United States have made our sorrows their own: we are mourners in a common cause. To the Emperor of Russia too, and to his subjects, our most heartfelt acknowledgments are due for the assistance invariably rendered by them to our ships and exploring parties. It was but the other day the Imperial Government took the warmest interest in the projected expedition of Lieutenant Pim. The young officer had proposed to pass overland to the extremest point of Siberia, to the seats of the Tchuktchi, the district formerly visited by Admiral Wrangell; and to carry assistance, if it might be, to his absent countrymen from that point. Admiral Matiushkin, however, after full consideration, could not advise the Czar to take the responsibility of forward-

ing the young officer to his destination, and he was compelled to return. On every occasion we have met with the most zealous co-operation from the Russian authorities at Behring's Straits.

Thus, we have exhausted the second series of 'Voyages in Search.' Such of them as are still in operation must be carried on as part of the third great attempt which is now in progress. The main feature of difference which distinguishes this attempt from former ones is, that the officer commanding the expedition in chief has been directed to make his way up north by Wellington Channel to the open sea spoken of by Captain Penny. Another officer is to make his way to Melville Island; but Sir James Ross and Captain Austin were previously charged with the same duty. We can scarcely hope that Captain Kellett will succeed in reaching a more westerly point than Lieutenant M'Clintock. This new expedition is composed of the same ships as Captain Austin took out with him on the previous occasion, namely, the 'Resolute,' 'Assistance,' and the two screw steamers 'Pioneer' and 'Intrepid.' To these the 'North Star' has been added.

Assistance.	Sir E. Belcher.	Pioneer.	Commander Osborne.
Resolute.	Captain Kellett.	Intrepid.	Commander Cator.
North Star.	Commander Pullen.		

The 'North Star,' by the latest advices, September 7. 1852, was stationed as depôt-ship at Beechey Island, in the mouth of Wellington Straits. Sir Edward Belcher had gone up Wellington Channel on the previous 15th August. On the same day Captain Kellett had sailed eastward for Melville Island. The despatches brought home the intelligence that the season was what is called an uncommonly 'open' one, or, in other words, that the passages were unusually free from ice. What the result of all these efforts may be, it is not for us to predict; but at least we think public opinion will bear us out in the assertion that the sacred duty of searching for our missing countrymen and their gallant chief has not been loosely performed. For six continuous years the search has been prosecuted with unremitting ardour, and without one answering token which could inspire hope of a successful result.

An idea seems to have arisen that Sir John Franklin has, in effect, passed up Wellington Channel into a northern sea; but it is based upon no firmer grounds than we know of than the fact, that he spent his first winter (1845-46) at the mouth of this strait, and that no traces of him have been found elsewhere. Sir John Franklin was not a man to depart from the letter of his instructions; and we know that those prescribed to him another course; leaving him, no doubt, a discretionary power in face of

impossibilities. To our apprehension, it is not compatible with the orders under which he was acting, or with what we know of his declared intentions, that Sir John Franklin should have advanced up Wellington Straits until he had spent a second season on the ice upon the line of his prescribed route. It is simply inconceivable that he should have pushed on into this hypothetical Polynia without leaving at some spot a record of his movements at Cape Riley or elsewhere. The more he was about to diverge from the tenor of his instructions, the more certain does it seem that he would have left behind some notice of his intention. If any inference can be founded upon this absence of information, it would be that he had departed from Cape Riley upon his appointed path, and had there encountered his fortune, whatever it might be. It is just possible that he may have been hurried up Wellington Channel into the Polynia amongst the ice, or into a great bay, without time for preparation. Every appearance at his first encampment would seem to negative this suggestion. There was no evidence of haste, the expedition departed leisurely and in order. All that can be said is, that this contingency too has been provided for. Sir Edward Belcher has been despatched upon this track—we can only trust that he may meet with more success than should, in reason, be anticipated. The discoveries of Captain Austin and Commander Inglefield would seem to preclude all hope by way of Jones's or Smith's Sounds; although, in any case, we do not believe that Sir John Franklin, had he been driven out of Baffin's Bay at the break-up of the winter season, would quietly, and with favourable gales, have advanced through unexplored passages at the head of Baffin's Bay without communication or memorial. To be sure, he may have been driven out of Lancaster Sound, as Sir James Ross was; and, when in Baffin's Bay, may have been overwhelmed by a sudden calamity, such as the one from which the 'Enterprise,' the 'Investigator,' and the 'North Star' narrowly escaped. It is but right that we should here take notice of the decided opinion expressed by Sir John Richardson in the introduction to his recent work ('Journal of a Boat Voyage through Rupert's Land'), which is to the effect, that if the ships had been overwhelmed by some sudden calamity in Baffin's Bay, the disciplined and well-appointed crews of Sir John Franklin, with every requisite machinery at their disposal, would have effected their escape in their boats; and that some, at least, of them would have turned up—to make no mention of the spars and relics of the wrecks. This naturally brings us to another fact in this sad history,

which has attracted much attention, and which has only added to the previous confusion of conjecture.

On or about the 20th of April, 1851, the brig 'Renovation,' bound from Limerick to Quebec, being then at no great distance from St. John's Light, in Newfoundland, sighted a large iceberg. On this iceberg, which stood about thirty feet out of the water, and was about two miles in length, two abandoned vessels were observed. One was certainly high and dry; the other might have had her keel and bottom in the water, but the ice was a long way outside of her. The larger one of the two appeared to be between 400 and 500 tons burthen; the smaller one somewhat less in size. The large one was lying on her beam-ends, with nothing standing but her three lower masts and bowsprit; the smaller one was upright, with her three masts, top-masts on end, topsail and lower yards across. The vessels were distinctly made out by the master, the mate, the man at the wheel, and, if we remember right, by others of the crew. The 'Renovation' did not approach the abandoned ships nearer than five or six miles; the reason stated is, that the ship was under-handed at the time, the master ill, and the weather unfavourable. They approached, however, sufficiently close to be quite convinced that no one was on board, and that no boats could be made out. This is their own tale. It should be added, that the 'Doctor Kneip,' a Mecklenburg brig, which arrived at New York, from Sligo, a fortnight later than the date of this occurrence, and which consequently must have passed over the same region somewhat more to the southward, saw much ice on the banks, also 'two vessels abandoned and water-logged.' There is uncertainty as to the precise date. The 'Doctor Kneip' sailed with emigrants from Sligo on the 3rd of April, 1851, and arrived at New York on the 3rd of May.

Opinions have varied as to the value of this information with reference to Sir John Franklin's expedition. In Newfoundland the story is disbelieved: it is there said, that if an iceberg of the magnitude described had passed along their coast from the north, it must have been seen by some of the sailing vessels which were then out in the waters named, or by some of the vessels which at that season are on their way to or from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Nova Scotia, or New Brunswick; or, finally, by the weekly steamers which run between Liverpool, Halifax, and the States. Captain Penny, a man of great experience in the ice, believes the two appearances seen were what the whalers call 'country ships;' that is, formations upon an iceberg, which are said to bear so great a likeness to real ships as to deceive the most practised eyes. He adds, that to freeze

ships into an iceberg in such a position would require thirty or forty years; whilst, if they had been jammed into floe-ice, the floes would have been broken up by the swell of the ocean long before they had reached Cape Farewell. 'No iceberg,' writes Captain Penny, 'of one-fourth of a mile would reach such a position—it must have been two pieces of icebergs; and the vessel being five miles distant, could not observe the water over the detached ice.' As it is our bounden duty, we record those suggestions; but can only add, with all due deference to the superior experience of the author, that the testimony by which the reality of the incident has been supported would be sufficient to prove a fact in any court of justice in Europe.

But admitting that these vessels were seen, as reported, by the 'Renovation's' people, two grave questions remain—Were they Franklin's ships?—If they were indeed the 'Erebus' and 'Terror,' what inference can we draw from the fact as to the fate of the expedition? Let us presume the first question to be answered in the affirmative—we are still at sea as to the legitimate deductions to be drawn from the admission. The vessels had drifted down through Davis's Straits from Baffin's Bay. Did they come from Lancaster Sound, Jones's Sound, Smith's Sound, or from any point at the east head of Baffin's Bay? At what point were they abandoned by the crews? Are we to suppose that Sir John Franklin had penetrated into the hypothetical Polynia, by Wellington Channel or elsewhere—a great distance ~~in~~? that then his ships were caught between the field of ice and the iceberg on which they were seen? that he and his companions took to the boats, attained some Spitzbergen near the Pole, where they are now eking out a subsistence, and that meanwhile the iceberg made its way into Baffin's Bay, with the 'Erebus' and 'Terror' in its adamantine grasp, through presumed channels at the north of the Parry Islands, and so out by Wellington Strait and Lancaster Sound, or by Jones's Sound, into Baffin's Bay? It should be remarked that Commander Inglefield talks of a northerly current setting up Smith's Sound at the only season of the year when an iceberg of that size would have moved; so that could not have been its path into Baffin's Bay. If the vessels were actually seen, the fact must be accounted for somehow. We frankly own ourselves unable to offer any conjecture of our own upon the matter; nor, after the most careful and anxious consideration of all that has been written and said upon the subject, can we recommend any suggestion that has come to our knowledge as worthy of public attention.

Thus, then, we have attained the limits prescribed to us in a

paper of this description. Our effort has been throughout not so much to offer theories of our own, as to lay before our readers substantial and ascertained facts connected with the Arctic regions. We firmly believe that a man who would read Parry's first voyage so carefully as to master the peculiarities of Arctic navigation and to understand its dangers, and who would then jot down upon a chart the mere outlines of subsequent discoveries in the same quarters; would be in a better position for forming an opinion about the fate of poor Sir John Franklin and his companions than one who had spent much time in reading the most brilliant essays and criticisms upon the same subject. We feel too — we feel most deeply — that a great reverence is due to those who have gone out from amongst us into the eternal ice, and to the sorrow of those who bewail their loss as a private and domestic grief. Far be it from us to weave phrases in the presence of such a calamity, or needlessly to harrow up the feelings of friends and relatives by ingenious speculations as to the fate of the missing expedition.

In conclusion, let us hope that we have expressed ourselves in no ambiguous terms upon a subject which has so deeply interested the civilised world. There may have been a certain rashness in despatching Franklin, in 1845, upon his fatal errand. That is a bygone question. We trust that we have heard the last of speculative attempts at a North-west Passage by Barrow's Straits. The efforts in search of Franklin rest upon another foundation; but in our opinion, with the expedition of Sir Edward Belcher, enough has been done. The recent despatch of Commander Inglefield in the 'Phoenix' for Beechey Island, if his instructions confine him to the mere support of Sir E. Belcher's squadron, is intelligible enough, and so of any further expedition to Behring's Straits for the purpose of succouring the ships already engaged in that portion of the Arctic regions. Beyond this let us trust that the authorities at the Admiralty are prepared to act up to the spirit of their own declaration. In the last Arctic Blue-book we find it stated, in reply to an application for service in that quarter, that 'My Lords' do not contemplate the despatch of any further expeditions. Be it so—we accept the promise. We are bound to hold our hands at last lest we involve others in destruction for the sake of those who cannot be benefited by so costly an offering. Next winter will be the ninth winter since the 'Erebus' and 'Terror' set sail. That nothing will come from Sir E. Belcher's exertions is what we will not affirm; but certainly, if he does not succeed, it would be madness to repeat the experiment. With regard to this Polynia, which is now the

favourite topic amongst Polar *dilettanti*, we would say that, by the exceeding brilliancy of their promises, they almost shut themselves out from public help. If there be a mine of wealth in the shape of fisheries between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla, let the shipowners of Hull look to that. If it be possible to get to the Pole, and back again in a month in a small steamer like the 'Isabel,' let the theorists transform themselves into 'doers.' We want something more substantial than the testimony of Barentz, delivered two centuries and a half back, ere we can acquiesce in further public undertakings of the like nature. For ourselves, we have been busy with the records of a sterner school, in which we find that men of iron mould, of unflinching nerve, of undoubted skill, the picked men of the greatest maritime nation in the world, have been worsted in the unequal conflict with the powers of nature. All that could be done was done even before the departure of Sir John Franklin. We read in old chronicles that the good Lord Douglas, in an affray with the Moors, in the Sierras of Andalusia, finding the battle go against him, cast into the middle of the tumult a silver case which contained the Bruce's heart. That casket he would recover or die. He did not recover it, and he died. We have acted in the same way, as though to give ourselves an additional inducement for penetrating into the Arctic regions. Foiled in our previous efforts, we have placed two ships, filled with British seamen — Sir John Franklin at their head — far beyond human help, and have since been engaged in frantic efforts to rescue the precious sacrifice.

ART. III. — *The Greek and the Turk; or Powers and Prospects in the Levant.* By EYRE EVANS CROWE. London: 1853. 1 vol. 8vo.

NOTWITHSTANDING the striking diversities and contrasts which are found in the natural qualities and mental development of the different nations of our globe, we can trace on the map the connexion of these seemingly opposite elements by a series of gradual transitions. These transitions become more apparent as nations are more distant from each other, so that the differences of degree gradually become differences of kind, and groups of nations are developed to the eye, which although possessing individual peculiarities, form together a system marked by common characteristics, which distinguish them from the adjoining groups. Such groups are the result of the varied physical circumstances which surround them, and of the cha-

racter and history of the nations which compose them. They present some features in direct opposition to each other, and it is these antagonistic qualities that serve to develop their respective characters. Throughout this opposition, a gradual transition is observable, so that the nations of different groups which are nearest to one another in geographical position offer the least striking contrasts; while the remotest are the most widely different from each other.

Now the Western Christian group of nations, when compared with the Oriental Mahometan, presents to our view that contrast as well as that gradual transition to which we have alluded. Both features are evident to the most obtuse western traveller, when, for the first time, he enters a Mahometan country. Arriving by sea, on the shores of Egypt or of Syria, he sees the contrast; taking the course of Hungary and the Danube, he observes the transition.

Bewilderment is the effect upon an European when entering a Mahometan town for the first time. It is the entrance into a new world. The sights and persons are so strange that he requires time to analyse the causes of his novel impressions. The predominant feeling is one of giddy confusion, for it is not so much the strangeness of the individual objects, as the marvellous mixture of the most heterogeneous things, which gives to the appearance of an Eastern town its characteristic air of novelty. The palace and the mud hut,—the gorgeously dressed bey, and the half-naked water-carrier,—the richly caparisoned nejdî-horse, and the half-starved donkey,—pass before his wondering eyes like the quick changing images of a magic lantern. These external differences of social position obtrude themselves everywhere, and present a singular contrast to that external uniformity, we might almost say monotony, which is the peculiar characteristic of western countries, and which exhibits itself so forcibly in the barrack-like rows of our houses, the stereotyped swallow-tailed coat, and the invariable high-crowned hat, worn alike by all classes.

We should, however, be greatly mistaken were we to conclude, that the external variety in the Mahometan East, and the seeming uniformity of the Christian West, spring from internal sources of a like distinctive character. The very reverse is the case. The outward variety in the former is the consequence of the want of mental distinction, while the visible homogeneity in the latter is the result of those strongly marked internal differences which make outward distinctions altogether superfluous. Individuality is the key to this apparent anomaly. It is wanting in the East, and all prevalent in the West. If by

a freak of enchantment so common in the time of Haroun al Raschid, the soul of the Pasha were to exchange its bodily abode with that of a camel-driver, the metamorphosis would not be observed, for each would be equally fit to perform his new duties. The camel-driver would represent the high dignitary with perfect ease, and the Pasha would scarcely make his colleagues suspect the change, by displaying a degree of intelligence or knowledge unusual in his new station. Fiction and reality, —the Arabian-nights Tales, and the history of the Ottoman and Persian empires, are equally striking and equally true illustrations of this want of individuality, which is a permanent characteristic of the Mahometan East. Herein we obtain the clue to its never changing 'still life,' and to those contrasts which separate it, in spirit and in habit, from the Christian West, struggling interminably after the expansion of individual life.

In this light, therefore, the East may be said to be the land of equality, for there the highest personages are separated from the lowest members of society by an outward barrier only, and one which an unforeseen event may at any moment overturn.

This consciousness of mental equality, so prevalent in the Eastern character, powerfully influences the whole social edifice, and may be said to form its basis. It appears in every condition of life, modifies and soothes the harshness of external differences, and stimulates, if it does not altogether create, that sentiment of humanity and benevolence which manifests itself so signally in numerous pious foundations, accords nearly a right of alms to the poor, and extends beyond man to the whole animal creation. It generates that natural ease which is maintained in social intercourse between the extremes of society. Embarrassment, the product of conscious or apprehended inferiority, is incomprehensible to an Eastern nature. It is equally curious and amusing to observe the well-bred manners which the Fakir or the lowest Bedouin, who never saw a town, alike exhibit in every circumstance of life. Unaccustomed splendour and magnificence fail to awe them; and their whole behaviour is equally distant from vulgar pretension and bashful awkwardness.

Most striking is the effect of this feeling of equality on masters and servants. A familiarity exists between them which would utterly shock all European notions. The servant is the usual confidant of his master, and often his ruler, but nevertheless invariably preserves before strangers the outward ceremonious formalities with which the Oriental is accustomed to conceal the secrets of his domestic life. Servants not only

form part of the family, and are treated like children of the house; but this patriarchal household system also extends to the slaves; indeed, the latter are often the favourite children, and their portion that of Benjamin. A biographical sketch of the high dignitaries of the Sublime Porte, in our time, would best illustrate this assertion. A considerable number of them have been slaves bought in the market of Stamboul. It is not therefore surprising that the Circassians are anxious to preserve their privilege of being sold, from all foreign philanthropic encroachments. Like Laban of old, every true believer, says the Prophet, should give to his slave freedom after the seventh year. Although there are true believers who, anxious not to offend the commands of Mahomet, or to diminish the bag of piastres, sell their slaves in the sixth year, such conduct is the exception, and frequently the slave is not only manumitted, but also converted by marriage into a member of his master's family. Sometimes he is employed in offices of high trust before obtaining his freedom, and then manumission is scarcely thought necessary. For instance, at this moment, one of the revenue collectors in Damascus, — his post being as lucrative as it is influential, — is of Circassian birth. He was purchased, together with his sister, by old Mohammed Pasha. The sister became the Pasha's wife, the brother became his favourite. The Pasha and his wife are both dead, but their daughter and heiress is the proprietress of her uncle, the revenue collector, whose social standing is so little impaired by this curious family relation, that he competes among a crowd of suitors for the hand of his fair niece and mistress, with every chance of being successful.

We can judge how firmly this feeling of equality is rooted in the Eastern character, by the fact, that military discipline is insufficient to overcome it. No real class distinction exists between officers and privates. They share the same fare and receive the same cloth for their uniforms, only in unequal proportions; and it is not at all uncommon to hear the corporal discussing with his captain the orders which the latter is about to give, each addressing the other, all the while, by the sweetest titles, as 'my soul' and 'my love.' All the desperate efforts of their French and Prussian instructors to check this familiarity are fruitless. The young officers who enter the army from the military academies of Constantinople are too few to impress on the soldiery their crude notions of European military etiquette. Generally their oriental nature speedily resumes its sway, especially if they are stationed in the provinces. * They soon forget

their imperfectly imbibed academical ideas, and 'howl with the 'wolves.'

But if the Mahometan East in this sense be the true land of equality, it is also necessarily the real home of despotism, for there can be no liberty without individuality. Society is like a chain, the more numerous and the smaller the links, the easier and freer will be its motion. The Eastern world has no distinct links; it is like an iron ring, rigid and uniform, and its solid mass, having no motion amongst its parts, can only be moved by an external power: hence its despotism and centralisation. A singular and ludicrous example in social life of this despotism and centralisation, is the law still in vigour among many Tartar and Mongol tribes, which punishes most severely every one who dares to pull the tuft of hair on another man's head,—not because it injures the wearer of that ornament, but because *all tufts belong to the Khan*.

This want of individuality, and consequent uniformity in social life, also explains the immutability and steadiness of the Eastern world. Let him who has any doubts upon this subject wander through the East with the Bible in his hand. It will be the best itinerary he can obtain. He will find the people and the country the same as they were ages ago, when the sacred writers drew their graphic sketches of this cradle of humanity. The only change—and this for the worse—will be met with in a few towns on the sea-coast, contaminated by misunderstood and misapplied occidental ideas. All the rest of the country has remained intact, and has absorbed, although perhaps not digested, the foreign and strange elements which during three thousand stormy years have passed over its surface. A few names and a few ruins are all that remain to tell of that evanescent splendour which Greece and Rome carried into the very heart of the East, thence extending it to the borders of the desert.

Yet the Eastern spirit was not affected by this transient occupation, and the borrowed light was soon eclipsed by the more congenial lustre of Mahometanism. However influential this latter power was, it did not change the nature of the East. On the contrary, it was only a reaction against the temporary foreign influence of the West, and perpetuated the original social character of the Eastern races, society remaining in the same condition in which it had previously existed. The primitive patriarchal system still rules. It is the idea of the regulation of a family extending over and governing a people. The father or prince is the representative of the family, and all the rest are as children,—unable to rely upon their own powers,

and requiring to be supported. The nomad families preserved this patriarchal system in its original purity, and the settled agricultural population have adapted it to their altered condition. The chief among the latter occupies the same place and has the same unlimited influence which the clan or family system gives to the head of the tribe. Whenever this system began to decay it was revived and restored by the irruption and conquests of some nomad race. These nomad races contain the vital elements of the Eastern character, and have acted the part of regenerators in its history. The shepherd and warrior tribes of Arabia, Kurdistan, and Tartary have played in turn this important part, and have successively created the Arabian Khalifs, the Seltzuck Sultans, and the Ottoman Empire. By each of these fresh irruptions, new blood was infused from the heart of the East into the decayed and corrupted limbs; and each invasion was followed by a period of brilliancy and greatness. But the regenerators did not bring any new principle with them. Their ideas did not extend beyond the traditionary maxims of the kindred tribes whom they subdued; so that they were only able to produce a temporary renewal of action, without originating any new development. Hence the successive brief intervals of splendour were followed by new decay. Of this we have a striking instance before our eyes. The successor of Othman, whose ancestors made the world tremble, is now reduced to that state of exhaustion which history tells us was the fate of the latter Khalifs and Seltzuck Sultans; and if his sway were to cease to-morrow, similar results to those which history tells us occurred under the like circumstances would follow; he would leave society in the same state in which it was when, five centuries ago, his race began to rule.

The absence of individuality, which is the basis of the Eastern character, has produced the want of energy out of which grows the idea of fatalism. Energy must have an aim and a motive. These can only exist where individuality has impressed its distinctive marks upon a character, and raised in it the desire to have that character recognised by others. Where this is wanting there will be no exertion, and the virtue of passive contentment is at its highest perfection. Such is the case to a great degree in the East. If contentment be synonymous with happiness, the East certainly comprises the greatest number of happy beings. There are there but few of those cravings and heart-burnings, — those mortifications and disappointed hopes, — which embitter so many Western existences. The Oriental can see no reason or propriety in work so long as he has enough to satisfy his limited

wants. Hence the merchant, as well as the artisan, the fellah and the workman, leave their daily toil as soon as they have had the good luck to earn the few piastres which they require to purchase their evening meal, and after it to enjoy their 'rahat,' repose. The Oriental cannot conceive any pleasure to be derived from action in itself. He works only to be able to repose, and smiles at the running and hurrying European, who reposes only to gain new strength for work. The Oriental is able and willing to go through an incredible amount of exertion, in order to attain that blissful state of conscious inactivity which ceases to be a negation with him, and in fact becomes a positive pleasure; but for steady continued labour, he is totally unfit and indisposed. Even the activity of the hardy Bedouin and Tartar Nomad is limited to short intervals, and the main part of his existence is spent in that dreamy repose to which his sky and his shepherd occupation alike invite him. These short intervals occur at the time of their migration from the south to the north, and *vice versâ*,—then he toils at least as hard as his camel, but when the tent is pitched he rests, and revels in the wanderings of indistinct thought.

Want of individuality, with its consequences—equality, despotism, immutability, and absence of energy—are then the characteristic features of the Mahometan East. These characteristic features are there, as every where else, effects of the influence of race, climate, religion, and political history,—the two latter being as much effects as causes.

Three primary races share amongst them the Mahometan East—the Arab, the Turk, and the Persian. Each possesses its subdivisions. Although different in outward appearance, and without the slightest affinity in language, there is a remarkable resemblance in the characters and the ideas of these three families, an unity or family likeness which distinguishes them from all other races. This unity is only active, when placed in opposition to the West. In itself it is passive. It is rather a neutral state of undeveloped differences than a real identity, more an absence than a similarity of outward characteristic marks.

This undeveloped national character is the natural consequence of the absence of a national union. Each one of these three races forms a sort of conglomerate, in each of which even language, divided as it is into numerous dialects, can hardly be said to form a complete bond. They more nearly resemble a number of kindred families living in each other's vicinity, and holding connexion with their immediate neighbours only, but having no consciousness of a common feeling with the rest.

This is the consequence of what we have observed of the condition of individuals in the East. In both cases the same absence of individual peculiarity is apparent. The races, as well as the individuals, continue in the primitive state in which habit is all powerful, and neither one nor the other rises to the independent action which emanates from reflection. Both are, therefore, undeveloped and characterless.

If we study the physical characteristics of these Eastern races, we find nothing in their outward appearance, nor in the structure of their heads, which explains the great difference between them and the Occidental nations. On the contrary, some Easterns equal, if they do not surpass in these respects, the most favoured Europeans. But whatever their mental conformation may be, it remains unaffected by admixture with foreign races, and is now what it was at the beginning.

The Eastern nations have always struggled after purity or isolation of blood. Not only have they rejected all union with Western races, but they have kept up a system of exclusion among themselves, amounting to a positive antipathy, scorning all contact with other families. This proud abnegation is preserved unmitigated to the present day, and extends to the very lowest ranks of society. Their mutual aversion is indeed carried so far, that it ceases not between married people; so that when a Turk takes an Arab wife, she, in the pride of her desert blood, never calls her husband by any other name than 'the Turk,' and the children follow the example of their mother, regarding their father almost as a stranger. The horror of all contact with foreign blood, and the corresponding pride of race, spring from the same source—the strong patriarchal feeling which binds together all members of the same family or tribe. They are born, live, and die together; and, what is equally important, all these events happen on the spots which their race have inhabited for ages. This adherence to kindred and soil is a distinctive feature of the East. It is preserved under all circumstances, and we can as little account for it as for the contrary tendency to expansion in the West.

The climate, and other physical conditions, under which these races have been bred, have powerfully affected this phenomenon, although they do not explain it. We find that extremes of climate are alike unfavourable to the development of race. In the extreme north, the overpowering influence of natural forces repulses all human exertion; and again, in the extreme south, there is no stimulant to call it forth. Stagnation is the consequence in both cases. In one, nature is too unkind; in the other, too favourable. In the greatest part of the territory in-

habited by the Mahometan races, the soil yields all that is required by the scattered population, almost without exertion on their part. The mild climate not only dispenses with many wants belonging to a less favoured sky, but seems also to restore with less difficulty the consumed vital powers. We cannot but be astonished at the frugality of Eastern people, amounting, according to our ideas, nearly to starvation. A cupful of camel's milk and a handful of dates impart to the Bedouin Arab strength enough to walk or ride for sixteen or more hours in a day. Under these circumstances, to which must be added from six to nine months of enervating heat, it is not surprising that all vigour is prostrated, and a sort of dreamy condition produced, which enchants and absorbs the vital forces of the man.

We can best understand how much in the Oriental character is to be attributed to these physical conditions, if we observe the change which slight variations in climate and soil have produced in these races themselves. The most striking distinctions are those observable between the mountaineers and the inhabitants of the plains; and again, between the settled and the nomad populations. In both cases, the marked transition is so gradual, and follows so clearly the changes in the character of the soil and the climate, that it can only originate in these causes. Let us take Syria as an example. The whole native population from the coast of the Mediterranean to the Tigris belong to the same race and speak the same language, and yet what a marked difference exists among them. The towns on the coast have indeed been too much exposed to foreign influence to be fair specimens of this difference; but contrast the tall, athletic, and fierce-looking inhabitant of Lebanon with the mean, clumsy, and enervated villager of the plains of Aleppo and Damascus;—and again, compare the latter with the Bedouins, whose aquiline features, flashing eyes, and slender and muscular body, proclaim a variety of character, which, on the first glance, it is impossible to misapprehend.

Both the mountaineer and the free son of the desert have to encounter difficulties in procuring the necessities of life, from which the inhabitants of the luxuriant plains are altogether exempt. These difficulties require and provoke much greater energy, and exert a considerable influence on the social existence and moral qualities of the two former. A certain degree of independence, totally unknown to the fellah in the plain, is the result. But this feeling of independence does not become individual; it belongs only to the clan in the mountains, or to the tribe in the desert. The Bedouin, Druse, or Metuali, in-

dividually, is the same cowardly fellow as the Alepine or Damascene, having no self-reliance or self-independence; but, in connexion with his tribe or clan, he exhibits a strongly marked personal feeling, and the whole tribe or clan forms a composite body, conscious and jealous of its rights, and ready to uphold them against any encroachment. This, the frequent feuds among the tribes of the desert, and the rivalries of the Sheik families in the district of Lebanon, sufficiently prove. Both have been able to maintain a considerable amount of resistance against all attempts to subjugate them. The expedition of the Mushir of Damascus against the rebellious mountaineers two years ago, and a similar attempt at present, are a proof that their spirit, though sometimes subdued in appearance, is far from being broken in reality.

But these slighter differences of climate and soil, which nevertheless influence the character of the mountaineers and the pastoral nomads, are not sufficient to change their Eastern nature. Though, in a less degree, they are still under the influence of those physical conditions which give so strong a bias to the life of the Eastern races. They likewise need small efforts to satisfy their limited wants; small indeed compared with those of the European. Their country is so scantily inhabited, that it will probably be ages before the increase of population overpowers the benignity of nature, and forces them to greater exertions. They therefore are not subject to those natural stimulants which awaken industry, and create the energy which is essential to further development.

If such be the case with the hardiest of the Eastern tribes, we may reasonably expect a religious and social system corresponding to this state of body and mind. Partly, then, as a consequence, partly as an expression of the peculiar character of the Eastern races, moulded and modified by physical causes, Mahometanism arose,—the greatest and most distinctive feature of the East at the present day.

The less individuality is developed, the greater and the more extended must be the sway of authority. Hence we discover in the East, existing from the earliest times, those all-absorbing theocratical powers which influenced and regulated the minutest functions of individual life. The Eastern races had not come to maturity, and, consequently, felt the need of a director and precise guide. They found both in Mahometanism.

We are apt to judge historical events either from our own isolated point of view, or, at least abstractedly, without considering the tendencies of the times, and the circumstances when they occurred. Until lately, this was the mode adopted with

regard to Mahometanism. Tried by our own ideal standard, its shortcomings were condemned, while the good in it was passed over in silence, as a matter of course. Consequently, Mahometanism was assumed to be a system of lies invented by one man for his own personal interest, which, by mere chance, had become the law of one-fifth of the whole human race, and the basis of a brilliant epoch of arts and literature. The stationary civilisation of the East, and the resistance there made to the introduction of all foreign elements, have been solely attributed to the evil influence of Mahometanism; and it therefore was believed to be the cause, and not the natural growth, of the Eastern character. It is only of late that a less prejudiced age has been able to appreciate the real effects of this extraordinary phenomenon in the history of the Eastern races.

At the birth of Mahometanism, the people of the East were divided into many separate religious and social unions, which, growing like parasitical plants, and intermingling with local and individual laws and habits, rendered all further development impossible, and became the most active agent in an ever-progressive debasement of the races themselves. At whatever fragment of this chaotic mass we look, we perceive an absence of true vigour, mental and physical. The Arab tribes had fallen into a corrupt idolatry, which, with its vices, was in a fair way to enervate the whole family. The Persian Zend religion had become a mystical jugglery for the benefit of its acolytes. Even Eastern Christianity had entangled herself in a labyrinth of sectarianism and of mis-called philosophy; the great fundamental truths of her religion were buried amidst petty jealousies and party animosities.

The social state was not less decayed. The Eastern Empire was exhibiting its last convulsions, covering them with an attempted show of grandeur, which made it quite grotesque, and turned pity into contempt. Her Emperors—the successors of the rulers of the world, were trembling in their palace before every stray barbarian tribe that chose to insult them under the walls of their capital.

The immigration of the Slavonic tribes had extinguished the last rays of Greek glory which had lingered around the wreck of its national existence. Even the divine spirit of Christianity, stifled by formalism and heresy, failed to revive this lifeless body.

In Persia, the successors of Nushirvan the Just exhibited the same spectacle as those of Constantine the Great. The leathern apron of the blacksmith—their royal standard—served no longer as a point of union to the nation; it became

the bloody emblem of party and of family wars. The sacred fire, whose glare had once been reflected in the waves of the Hellespont, still burned indeed on the altars of Susa and Ctesiphon, but it had ceased to warm the hearts of the Parsee. Its flame, contaminated by the admixture of base superstitions, had lost its ancient glory, and ceased to be the beacon of the national existence. The sun of Persia was fast setting among the dark clouds of barbarous hosts which surrounded it on all sides.

The numerous branches of the Semitic race were in a yet more miserable condition. In Syria they had all yielded to foreign rule. The latest independent State had fallen with Jerusalem centuries before, and all traces of former greatness and national existence were obliterated. They were, so to say, in an intermediate condition between life and death. The memory of bygone ages of grandeur was too tenacious to be altogether extinguished, therefore they did not assimilate with their conquerors; but they could not raise themselves out of this state of degradation by their own power. On the other hand, their kindred in Arabia and in the desert had desecrated the Kaaba, the palladium of their race, by introducing foreign idols into the sacred precincts of this symbol of national unity. With the foreign gods foreign corruption came; and the spirit of the people was gradually becoming extinct.

The whole Eastern world thus exhibited that state of decay which indicates a resurrection, and paves the way for the advent of new ideas. Everything was corrupt and degenerate,—religion and morality—nations and empires—arts and sciences. The sublime ideas of Christianity, which had regenerated the nations of the West, had little effect upon the Eastern races. Its character was too spiritual for their more material nature. They were unable to comprehend the ‘kingdom which is not of this world.’ Their feeble, childish spirit could not encounter the freedom of action, and the weight of responsibility which Christianity implies. They wanted a faith more congenial to their nature, and were, therefore, ready eagerly to grasp the easy fatalism of the creed of Islam.

In this their desolate state there arose a longing after some new idea which would raise the Eastern world from its abject condition. This primarily took hold of the Semitic race, which had fallen the lowest, but had not forgotten its past splendour. Here we see not only the fragments of the Jewish nation, which were dispersed all over Arabia, but the Arab tribes themselves, longing and hoping for the Deliverer, who should unite the kindred families of the Semitic people, and revenge the wrongs they had suffered. The attempts of several re-

formers and prophets before Mahomet arose, prove the extent of this desire. These hopes were much fostered by the fugitive Jews, who carried with them into their exile the expectations of a coming Messiah. They thus strengthened the anticipations which the Arab tribes preserved of an impending glorious future of their common race.

At this moment Mahomet appeared, and was hailed as the expected Deliverer. The traditions of his own people formed the basis of his doctrines. But he did not stop there. He also incorporated those of other branches of the Semitic race, and thus laid the foundations for a comprehensive religion for the whole race. According to his assertions he did not promulgate anything new, but came only to re-establish the old faith of Adam, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, which, he pretended, had been corrupted by the world.

The essence of this new faith was the unity of God. He maintained that there never was, and never could be, but one true religion; the particular laws and ceremonies might change, but the substance of real religion was eternal and unchangeable truth. The system of laws which Mahomet erected on this broad basis, was modelled according to the nature of the Semitic race, and was accommodated to their existing habits and customs. It had for its object the sanction and consolidation of old usages and traditions, rather than the introduction of new ones.

The common and most characteristic mark of all these laws and regulations, as adopted by him, is their generality, fitting them for the widest possible range, and making them acceptable to all those idolaters who could raise their minds to the worship of One Divine Being. This tendency shows itself in the adoption of so many Christian, Jewish, Sabian, and Magian ideas and rites. For instance, all ideas about prophets were taken from the Christians and the Jews. Those about angels and genii, paradise and hell, from the Jews and the Magi. The like with all points of religious practice. The ablutions before, and the prostrations during prayer—the almsgiving—the fastings and the pilgrimage to Mecca, were already customs of the Arabs themselves, and with the exception of the pilgrimage were also practised by the Jews and the Persian Magi.

By taking these elements from the different religious communities similar in ideas, character, and condition, and uniting them in one centre, the ancient, local, and special theocracies were broken up, and, for the first time, a theocratical union of these races was accomplished. This new theocracy was essentially different from the old ones. They had been confined to

individual nations, and in many cases to portions of nations only. Mahometanism, on the contrary, was based on an idea which does not belong to any one nation, but is common to all mankind. The comprehensiveness and grandeur of the fundamental idea pervaded and influenced the whole structure. It invited all the races of the East to worship the One God, and to practise charity and benevolence. It abolished the monopoly as well as the class distinctions of the priest caste, and rolled up the curtains of the sanctuary that every believer might enter in.

With the priest caste were abolished all their fantastic ceremonies; in place of which the worship by simple prayer was instituted. In lieu of bloody sacrifices to appease an offended Divinity, the distribution of alms to the poor, and the exercise of kindness to every human and animal creature, were commanded. Vice in every shape, and amongst all classes, was condemned and stigmatised as an offence against Allah, while equity and benevolence were made the keys of paradise. One nation after another flocked to embrace these simple and grand doctrines, which were wide enough to comprehend without extinguishing those minuter shades of opinion, in which each people had given expression to its peculiar mind, and which it jealously desired to retain. The Eastern races perceived in Mahometanism the identification of their common Orientalism, and hailed it as a standard round which they could array themselves, and resist all encroachments of heterogeneous or foreign elements.

Mahometanism became thus in the East what Catholicism was at that time in the West. Both were preparations to a maturer national life. Both were destined to shelter the growth of the new nationalities then striving to emerge out of the chaos into which East and West had been plunged by the convulsions which followed the great migrations. These two systems, one in the East and the other in the West, united all homogeneous, and rejected all heterogeneous elements; establishing two distinct groups of nations, whose associated strength served to protect the subordinate nations until each should be strong enough to assert its claim to an independent existence.

Thus two hostile camps, containing the regenerated nations of the East and the West, stood arrayed against each other, and a war of centuries ensued. The two adverse elements were, for the first time, brought into collision in their entirety. There had been wars of conquest, but never before wars of ideas, between the East and the West. Neither the Greeks nor the Romans fought against the Asiatic States for religion.

On the contrary, the latter adopted the gods of the nations which they subdued, and incorporated them with the national worship, without ever imposing their own on the conquered.

The contrast in ideas, habits, and customs which had been gradually developed between the Eastern and Western races, had previously remained unnoticed, or at least had not been conspicuously manifested, because there was no union between the homogeneous races, until it was effected in the East by Mahometanism, and in the West by Catholicism. The strife which then began, while it served to strengthen the contrast between the two opposing elements, nourished the vitality of both. It increased the distinctiveness of the Eastern character, by threatening it with absorption; and became the chief agent for effacing the last remains of the old superstitions, and leading to an universal acceptance of the purer laws of Mahometanism. In the West the crusades, by undermining the feudal system, raised the middle classes, and smoothed the way for the modern systems of government. On the other hand, by facilitating the extension of hierarchical power, these religious wars led to the rapid corruption of the priesthood, and the advent of the Reformation speedily followed.

The strife of East against West subsided when the balance between their respective elements was established; but the contrast exists unimpaired, and shows itself whenever they come into contact. In the East we see an innate tendency to steadiness, repose, and indolence,—in the West to progress, activity, and energy. This causes in the former the disposition to cling to soil and family, and the want of individuality to which we have before alluded; and produces in the latter that roaming and investigating spirit which leads to great enterprises, and that feeling of personal dignity which finds its expression in the idea of honour, an idea which belongs so exclusively to the Western races that no word expressive of it can be found in any of the Eastern languages. In the social sphere this contrast shows itself in the equality and submissiveness to unity of rule which form the basis of all the despotic states of the East, and in the West by the spirit of liberty which makes the Western races energetically seek for constitutional and democratic forms of government.

A well known and characteristic feature in the contrast between East and West is the position of Woman. In the former, the Mahometan doctors dispute about the existence of her soul. In the latter, Woman animates the whole social sphere. In the former polygamy, in the latter monogamy, is the basis upon which the family relations are constructed.

But this contrast between East and West does not confine itself to these general features. It pervades all the minutiae of daily life, as the loose dress and tight dress — the shaven head and the full grown beard, compared with the flowing hair and shaven face, sufficiently show. The distinction in gestures, and other symbolic actions, is likewise remarkable. The Oriental expresses his veneration for a holy place by taking off his shoes and keeping his head covered. The European takes off his hat, but not his shoes. The Oriental beckons to his acquaintance with his fingers turned towards the ground, and would esteem the western habit of beckoning with the fingers pointed upwards as a mortal insult.

In proportion as the great opposing tendencies, which we have before described, developed themselves, the two rallying centres, Catholicism and Mahometanism, lost their absorbing power. They had sheltered the infant nations against foreign influences, and now the bond which had been useful — perhaps necessary — for the preservation and support of the young institutions, became, by degrees, an intolerable yoke — impeding, instead of promoting, their growth. Consequently, many of the Western nations, strong enough to stand alone, threw off the heavy chains of Papal power, while others impatiently shook the fetters which they were as yet too feeble to break. The same fate now impends over Mahometanism. The Crescent has sunk low in the horizon, and is no longer that faithful guide to every believer which it was for centuries. The nations of the East, though more tardy in the development of their ideas, are now in the same state in which the Western world was shortly before the Reformation. Under the apparent unity of Mahometanism, national differences have been born and matured, which, though as yet undeveloped, are only waiting for an occasion to manifest themselves. The East presents to our view that state of uneasiness which, in the life of nations, is the symptom of an approaching crisis. There are, moreover, powerful and unmistakeable signs that the eruption is not far distant.

The gradual decay of Mahometanism shows itself from two sides — the religious and the national. In the religious the tendency is to get rid of all the Semitic and Arabic elements which are incorporated into Mahometanism, and to establish an abstract and pure Theism. Already the Persian Shiis have taken that direction, by rejecting the Sunna — the traditions — and disavowing the successors of Mahomet. Many independent Tartar tribes have done the same. The most curious instance of this tendency are the sect of Wehabites, whose numbers are daily increasing in Mahomet's own country, the very heart of

Arabia. During Ibrahim Pasha's expeditions in the Nejd they were able, successfully, to oppose him with an army of 60,000 men, pillaging and dispersing several caravans of pilgrims on their way to Mecca. Their principle is to reject all tradition, disbelieving in Mahomet's mission as prophetic, and adhering strictly to the unity of God. It is a remarkable and interesting circumstance that these reformers belong almost exclusively to the pure Arab tribes, which were the first champions of Mahometanism, and which, of all the Eastern races, have the greatest vitality and energy. Moreover, that strong, although imperfect, feeling of independence which they have cherished through good and evil fortune, contains the germs of further development.

In addition to this religious movement there is also a national one, tending to the dissolution of Mahometanism. Until recently this had only a negative operation, Mahometanism gradually ceasing to be the one focus of the Eastern races, in which all their differences had been if not absorbed at least neutralised. Now many of the Eastern races begin to feel an obscure longing after a separate national existence. This feeling expresses itself more in dissatisfaction with their present condition than in any clearly defined struggle after a definite object.

The effect of this is manifested in a growing animosity among the different races, tending to draw a line of demarcation between them, and to produce different characteristic features in each. Separate nationalities must grow out of such a state of things, and with them a conscious feeling of their individual existence, apart from a common Orientalism. Although this fermentation has not yet worked long enough to produce great results, its operations may be distinctly traced, especially in those races which are brought into daily contact: we refer to the Turks and the Arabs. At first Mahometanism sunk all differences between the conquerors and the conquered: now the contrast between them grows every day stronger. So long as Mahometanism was the all-uniting, all-governing spirit, there were wars for supremacy among the rulers, but no hatred of races. Hatred of race is, however, now growing out of the feeling of animosity, and jealousy rankles in the breasts of Turks and Arabs. All new regulations of the government are accepted with the greatest reluctance and distrust, and are resisted as long as possible. This *vis inertiae* is the greatest obstacle which as yet the Turkish Government finds in the Arabs.

Another difference arises out of the different forms which the

original patriarchal system assumed in the two races. Every where, and under all circumstances, the Arabs have more or less preserved aristocratic distinctions and feelings among the descendants of their ancient chiefs, who, although deprived of every influence, still retain their standing in the mind and estimation of their people. Turkish policy has always endeavoured to oppress these prominent families, by encouraging rivalries between them, and frequently instigating one member of a family to intrigue against another member of the same family. All these efforts have, however, proved vain. The veneration for high birth and ancient lineage is too deeply rooted in the Semitic race to be eradicated. These old families form the natural rallying point of the people in every difficulty. They are regarded as their leaders by birth. They were the chief promoters of the disturbances in Syria occasioned by the attempted introduction of the conscriptions. They head the revolt which is again existing in the Haurau, in which the Turkish forces have lately been completely routed by the Druses and the Sheiks of the desert.

Not a trace of aristocracy is to be found among the Turks. The attempt made to create a species of military landed aristocracy in the Spahis has failed. Upon the introduction of the new military system by Mahomet the Spahis lost that little influence which they had possessed. This absence of all class distinction among the Turks may be principally attributed to their position as the ruling people, which obliges them to remain as united as possible in order to maintain their dominion. Thus the whole race may be said in some respect to constitute an oligarchy, ruling over the conquered inhabitants, and keeping up their position by avoiding all alliances with them. Their pride of race lies in the name of Osmanli, which belongs alike to the Pacha and to the Turkish barber. The Padishah, the successor of Othman, the founder of their rule, represents their lofty position, as a conquering race, and embodies in his person their history as Osmanlis. Hence the awe and reverence which they manifest for him, and which is distinct from that feeling of slavish subjection which fear produces in other despotic States. He, in fact, occupies the same position which the head of the family or tribe fills under the old patriarchal system.

This hatred between the Arab and Turkish races is also generating a new and most important phenomenon. It is gradually diminishing the long-felt aversion between the Christian and the Mahometan Arabs, and bringing them into closer connexion. During the vigour of Mahometanism, the existence

of the Christian portion of the population was one of indescribable suffering. They experienced from their kindred, the Mahometan Arabs, greater hardships than from their common rulers the Turks. In great measure this is now changed. The Mahometan Arabs begin to feel towards the Christian Arabs the unity of a kindred race. Their growing hatred of a foreign yoke serves to cement this alliance between them. In 1850, during the revolt of Aleppo, the Mahometan insurgents took the greatest pains to induce the Christians to join them, in order to relieve Syria from the Turkish rule. The Christians, who were not liable to the military conscription—the proximate cause of the insurrection—refused to join in a revolution which did not immediately concern them, and which promised little success: then only was the Christian quarter pillaged.

It is not from such outbreaks that the Eastern Christians expect any advantages. Excluded for centuries from all influence in the State, and all union of race, dwelling more like strangers and half slaves under their Mahometan masters, they have found from time to time a connecting link in their religion, which, while it severed them from their neighbours and kindred, and deprived them of all rights at home, has naturally led them to seek for support among the European brethren. On the other hand, the unprotected state of the Christians prompted the Western Powers to use their interest to screen them from the oppressions of their Mahometan rulers. Thus each Christian sect in the East has found some western protector. The Roman Catholics look to France; the Eastern Church clings to Russia. The few Protestants seek the good offices of Prussia and England.

What was at first a matter of humanity has at length become a matter of policy with the Western Power; and notwithstanding the famous Firman of Gulhane has declared that ‘all subjects of whatever religion and class they may be, are equal before the law and subjected to the same code,’ and ‘that difference in religion is a matter of conscience which belongs to God,’ the convenient protectorate which afforded such good opportunities for meddling with the internal affairs of the Turkish Empire, is still maintained to the great detriment of the Turkish administration. Amongst these protected Christian sects, the Protestants are of course too few in number to come under consideration. The Roman Catholics, although more numerous, are scattered over the whole Turkish Empire, and, with the exception of the Maronites of Lebanon, are nowhere to be found in a compact body. Moreover they have no common centre. They are nearly all converts, more or less recent, from the

Greek Church, yielding an imperfect submission to their spiritual head the Pope, and anxious for the preservation of the ancient privileges of their church. This want of a uniting centre frustrates the most assiduous endeavours of France in the East to derive any influence or weight from such scattered and powerless elements, although as their protector she has availed herself of the opportunity of harassing the Turkish Government.

Far more numerous, and infinitely more important, are the followers of the Greek Church, who are spread in a continued chain from the borders of Arabia all along Syria and Asia Minor to the Black Sea. They are the remains of the old Greek element strongly mixed up in Europe with Slavonic and in Asia with Arab blood. Although most of the latter have lost their language, and have adopted the Arabic tongue as well as Arab customs from the people into whose race they are engrafted, they still retain a common feeling of union with their coreligionaries, whose head is the Patriarch of Constantinople. Too weak himself to afford protection to this flock, the Patriarch has found a willing and efficient supporter in his powerful colleague the Czar, the head of the Russian Church. This support proves so ample, and has been so willingly and so lavishly bestowed, that a great portion of the Eastern churches, now under the Patriarch of Constantinople, look with hope towards the time when there will be one flock, under the supreme headship of the Czar. In anticipation of this golden age, the expectant priesthood of the Oriental Church receive and enjoy the magnificent presents which their faithful protector bestows upon them, humbly desiring their prayers,—and of course, as in duty bound, they praise his name before their people.

When in 1850, during the insurrection in Syria, Mustapha Pasha of Beyrout defeated the Metuali insurgents near Malula, his troops, intoxicated with victory and arrack, forced the convent of St. Thecla, from which they alleged hostile shots had been fired, they wounded two monks and pillaged the church and convent. The monks of course were not slow in appealing against such injustice, but as the case was not quite so clear as the pious brethren asserted, the Turkish authorities did not listen to their demands for indemnification. Not so the Czar, their zealous protector. His magnanimity supplied them with funds to restore their church with a splendour of which they never dreamt before its fortunate destruction; and the good people of Malula and other Greek villages are now in the habit of asking the Frengi traveller, when the good Moscow Czar will come to deliver them from their present oppression. We give this as one instance out of many we could adduce.

The race enmity between Turks and Arabs tends to bring Mahometan and other tribes, as well as Christian Arabs, nearer to the Europeans. The feeling that the protection of the West is worth possessing, is gradually spreading in the East. Fifteen years have not elapsed since the first European dress was seen in the holy precincts of Damascus. The few travellers who visited that place had to adopt the costume of the native Christians, who are recognised by their black turbans. They were obliged to descend from their horses or mules before entering the gates of the city, and were required to walk, not to ride through it. Now the European may go about in his high hat without molestation. He is not even disturbed while witnessing the departure or arrival of the Mecca caravan, and may now gaze at the holy standard of the Prophet, a sight from which formerly all Christians were excluded under pain of death. Nay, what is more than all this, the fanatical Ulemas of the great mosque, two years ago, presented a petition containing their complaints against the mal-administration of the funds belonging to the pious foundations of their mosque,—not to the Mushir, whose duty it is to forward such memorials to the Sublime Porte,—but they presented it themselves to the English Consul, seeking his aid and influence to obtain justice.

If we thus see orthodox Mahometans overcoming their aversion to Europeans, and preferring their mediation to that of a fellow Mahometan belonging to the hated Turkish race, it is not surprising that the infidel Druses and heretical Metualis show no hesitation in seeking to avail themselves of European protection. The mountains of Lebanon and the Hauran became during the religious and political persecutions of Byzantium and Bagdad, a stronghold for all fugitives and all persecuted races. They had afforded a place of defence to the Christian Maronites, and they rendered the same service to the Druses and the Metualis. We should diverge too far were we to enter into the different hypotheses about the history and origin of these tribes. No speculations have as yet offered a satisfactory solution. Suffice it for our present purpose to say, that they both form the most warlike part of the Syrian population. Divided into clans under hereditary Emirs, they bear in their institutions much resemblance to the old Highland system. The most curious ascertained fact in the religion of the Druses, and which greatly influences their political character, is the existence of a priest caste under the name of Ockals or 'the Initiated,'—from which even women are not excluded. In their outward worship they conform to the system of Mahometanism, but their actual religion seems to be chiefly composed, if not altogether based,

on the old Syrian worship of the creative powers of nature. This is, however, concealed with the profoundest and most mysterious secrecy, so that it has hitherto been impossible to ascertain any thing positive upon the subject.

The same apocryphal uncertainty, embellished by strange tales and opinions, exists with respect to the Metualis. They are, however, generally supposed to be an heretical sect of Mahometanism. One thing is certain, that in nearly all the feuds of the Mountaineers, and in their opposition to the Turkish Government, the Druses and Metualis are allies, and their domestic and social institutions, habits, and customs are of a kindred character. Since the wars in which these two people were induced to join the Turkish troops against Ibrahim Pasha, under the promise that their ancient liberties and privileges should be secured to them, a continual struggle has been going on between them and the centralising Turkish Government, which is increasingly anxious to break down the power of the Emirs, and to assimilate these mountain tribes to the rest of the Empire.

In all these struggles Druses and Metualis are alike looking towards England for help and protection. They consult the English Consul at Damascus upon every emergency, and it was owing solely to his efforts that they did not break out in 1851, on occasion of the threatened introduction of the conscription. Besides the efficiency of British protection, a singular idea is spread all over the Mahometan East, which encourages their favourable estimation of the English. They suppose that the English (a generic name for Protestants) are of the same religion as themselves. They allege that all other religions have a Kitab (book of revelations), viz. the Mahometans the Koran,—the Christians (under which name members of the Greek and Roman Churches are comprised) ‘the Ingil,’ *i. e.* the Gospel,—and the Jews the Pentateuch; but the English and Druses have none. It is impossible to tell how this idea originated; most probably some of the Greek and Roman Catholic priests supplied so valuable a piece of information. However this may be, it is undeniable that their trust is in England. These expectations assist in securing for the English that influence in Syria which is now not slight, since the name serves as the best passport everywhere, and even through those districts into which the officials of the Turkish Government themselves dare not penetrate.

Thus Mahometanism, the common centre in which the Eastern races have been hitherto united, is now gradually losing its hold over them as a combined group of nations, and the different reli-

gious and national elements are separately emerging from that union in which they have been all but absorbed. The Eastern States, built on a theocratic union, naturally resent its growing decay, and seek for a substitute for that bond which has hitherto kept them together. The Ottoman Empire, the great representative of the Mahometan East, whose Padishah is Emir al Muemin (Ruler of the Believers), has been for some time struggling to prevent this stealthy but gradual dissolution.

Thus, since the late Sultan Mahmoud,—indeed contemporaneously with his predecessor, Selim,—the chief care of the rulers has been given to counteract the impending fate by closer centralisation of all power in Constantinople, by the abolition of all provincial, national, and religious dissimilarities, and by an imitation of European institutions. The reduction of the former great pashaliks, the division of the great military and civil offices, the establishment of an army after the European system, the proclaimed equality in the eye of the law of all subjects whether Mahometan or Rayas,—distinctly exhibit this tendency. But these ideas, which have animated the rulers, have found no sympathy in the governed. On the contrary, they have excited distrust and aversion among the immense majority of the people. Besides the heterogeneous national and religious elements which are embraced within the comprehensive Ottoman Empire, and which long to shake off the heavy yoke of the imperial government, the Turkish population itself looks with silent indignation at the violations of those old habits and customs which are revered, like sacred relics, by all Eastern people, and they reluctantly comply with the new-fangled commands which they dare not disobey. The unwillingness of the people to behold a senseless centralisation, and a servile imitation of misapplied Western ideas, substituted for home-grown habits of centuries, indicates a true feeling and sense of their position, which cannot be disregarded. This retrograde tendency—as it is called—may be and is partly influenced by ignorance and bigotry, but it declares the hollowness of the basis on which the new institutions are said to be built.

The attitude of the Ottoman Empire during the pending dispute with Russia must have opened even the most biassed eyes in this respect. In vain were all the resources and springs of administration concentrated at Constantinople, the unwieldy machinery would not work, and was tossed about according to the interests, not to say whims, of friend and foe. It was a body without soul. Centralisation requires homogeneous elements, or at least supposes unconsciousness of the existing differences. Neither of these conditions is to be found in the

present case. The Ottoman, like the Austrian, empire is an aggregate of small nationalities, which, divided among themselves by differences of race, language, and religion, such as render a true national union impossible; while, on the other hand, these heterogeneous elements, which hitherto have been in a passive state of inertness, begin to show signs of a new and vigorous life, and endeavour to obtain a corresponding degree of free action.

Any attempt to suppress this tendency by centralising all action in the Government alone, will only lead to disruption. And what then? Anarchy, or a Russian satrapy. For none of the small fragments of nationalities would be strong enough to incorporate the others, while each of them is jealous enough to sacrifice at any moment every thing to a momentary triumph over its neighbour. This hatred and jealousy was always the keystone of Turkish policy, and is as true to-day, when the Catholic Clementi and Miridithi tribes serve the Mahometans with marvellous zeal against their kindred the Greek Montegnins, and when the Greek high clergy forms the best and most subservient tool for the oppression of their own Greco-Slavonic flock, as of yore, when hundreds of thousands of Bosnians turned Mahometans in order to rule and oppress their own Christian countrymen, and to vent their revenge against their neighbours belonging to the Latin Church.

Whose interests would be most served by letting loose these passions without control,—those of the distant heretical English or those of the neighbouring orthodox Slavonic Muscovites? are the Greeks, forming hardly more than a fifth of the population of European Turkey, equally despised by Osmanlis, Servians, Bosnians, Albanians, Moldavians, Wallachians, and even by Bulgarians, and requiring the united aid of the three greatest Powers in the world to keep up a sickly existence, likely to bring order and fresh vigour into this chaos, and to become the regenerators of Eastern Europe and the founders of a restored Byzantine empire? These are two questions which we leave, without further comment, to the reader's consideration.

One way out of this dilemma would be a federalism under the supremacy of the Sultan; a state of things quite in accordance with the true spirit of Mahometanism, which, until lately, never interfered with the internal affairs of its non-Mahometan subjects; a federalism which would insure to the different nationalities the freedom necessary for the development of their national life, and counteract at the same time all intrigues of Russia by the interests and sympathies of the people themselves. These can and will be dangerous only as long as this

growing desire for a national development is not satisfied, for they prefer the lesser of two evils, the incorporation with the kindred Russians to the absorption by the Turkish centralisation; but they will certainly not hesitate for one moment between a half independent national government and a Russian despotism.

Already the little concessions which have been made were sufficient to foil the exertions of the numerous Russian agitators sent to excite disturbances among the Slavonic Rayas; and perhaps the want of appreciation of his kind designs on the part of these latter may have had some cooling effect on the benevolent ardour of the mighty Czar, and induced him to listen with more readiness to the mild representations of the Western Powers; for had he been sure of the co-operation of the millions of rayas, neither the protests nor the fleets of all Europe would perhaps have checked his advance.

Federalism and not centralisation ought to be the basis of a regeneration of the Ottoman Empire. Stamboul may be the centre, or rather the apex, of a great confederation of nationalities; and the ardent desire for a national existence might thus be satisfied, while the ambitious designs of foreign rulers, eager for the partition of Turkey, would be frustrated.*

The other attempt to engraft the fruits of a foreign and dissimilar civilisation upon the old stock will prove equally vain, if not more dangerous, because it presupposes the possibility of blotting out from the memory of a people the history of centuries, and effacing the characteristic traits which long ages have imprinted upon the physical and moral nature of the Eastern races. In fact it attempts to begin a new era by falsely imagining that a tabula rasa is in existence. Institutions and civilisation are not transferable at the sudden wish of an autocrat, although this wish may be dictated by the desire to benefit the people. They must develop themselves with the natural growth of the forces of the people, and be the expression of their wants.*

It is true that we have spoken of a seeming approach of

* As our readers will have observed, it was our intention not so much to consider the Turkish question under its political aspect, as to treat of one of the agents whose influence will be felt in the solution of this embarrassing problem,—namely, the Western Asiatic races and their representative Mahometanism. The author of the book which heads our Article has not, in our opinion, fully appreciated this important agent in the various solutions which he suggests, which is the more to be regretted as his work offers many sound and interesting suggestions.

some of the Eastern races to the Western nations, but this we have described to be the consequence of their hatred towards each other. Their hatred and contempt of the Giaour and Frengi is as burning as ever, perhaps even more so, because they are forced to implore his aid. Shylock was not despised and abhorred the less after he had supplied the wants of the Christian than he had been before. The Eastern seeks Christian aid in the same spirit and with the same disgust as he would eat swine's flesh were it the only means of saving him from starvation. This aversion to Europeans is like that towards the above-named dainty, — it is the growth of ages and is instilled into their minds from earliest youth; it is therefore more difficult to eradicate than if it were produced by reflection or personal experience. Need we have any further proof of this than the readiness with which, not only the refractory Albanians and Bosnians, but also the Egyptians and Arabs, nay, even the Druses and Me-tualis, forgetting their grievances, and their hatred of their Turkish rulers, flock under the standard of the Prophet in order to resist foreign encroachment?

It is not by roughly transplanting Western institutions into the East, that the contrast existing between the two will be softened. Such a course will only produce greater opposition. Approximation must be gradual. It must be accomplished by breaking down the barriers which have hitherto kept the opposing elements separate, and by facilitating an intercourse beneficial to both parties. The people, not the rulers only, of the East, must be brought into frequent contact with those of the West, and this contact must take place where the contrasts are not so strongly developed, namely, between adjoining races.

It is a singular but undeniable fact, that maritime intercourse, unless connected with colonisation, never leads to an assimilation or even a permanent exchange of ideas between nations; for which reason an insular position is the best for the undisturbed development of a people. Ideas are diffused by land. Contiguous races have therefore a similarity of ideas and habits which we do not find between remoter races, although belonging to the same degree of civilisation. Affinity of race — frequent contact in peace and war, past and present — physical circumstances, such as navigable rivers and open plains, — act as so many connecting links between the adjoining races. Such links may be found between the Eastern and Western races.

The course of these lines of union seems to follow the sun; at least, with very few exceptions, they tend from East to West. The most remote in distance and character from the East is

certainly the Anglo-Saxon race, which, with its strongly developed individuality and national feeling, presents the most perfect contrast to the Oriental nature, and may be said to be the representative of the Occidental character. The Romance races — the Italian, Spanish, and French — follow next. They exhibit much less development of individuality; still they possess a decided Western character and strongly marked national feelings. The Germans, placed in the heart of Europe, stand in the middle between the two antitheses. Their feebly developed national feeling, and their cosmopolitan nature, give to them a sort of neutral position between East and West. They are on one side connected with Western civilisation, and on the other touch the Magyar people, which is Oriental in its descent, traditions, and to a great extent in its habits and ideas. An European colony, of Eastern origin, and of a kindred race with the neighbouring Turks, the Magyar race has been drawn by historical events into the circle of Western civilisation, many of whose ideas it has adopted. It thus forms an intermediate link between the Eastern and the Western nations, and seems destined to bring them nearer to each other. Its geographical position indicates the same destiny. Enclosed on the North and South by high mountains, its river system forms a natural channel from the West to the East. The mighty Danube, proceeding from the very centre of Germany, and receiving the tribute of all the rivers of middle Europe, seems to be the natural high road for commerce and civilisation. It has already opened the long closed barriers between Magyar and Turk, and late events have not a little contributed to renew the contact between these two kindred people, which had been interrupted for ages, — with this difference, however, that the arm which was formerly raised only to slay, has been now extended to receive and to defend as brothers, their long estranged kindred and ancient enemies.

It is a most remarkable circumstance in this respect, that during the brief interval when the boundary between Hungary and Turkey was under the control of the independent Hungarian Government in the years 1848–49, that by a reasonable alteration of the almost prohibitory Austrian tariff previously existing between the two countries, and again restored since the termination of the war, an incredible amount of commercial intercourse immediately commenced, and Turkish merchants came in considerable numbers even to towns situated in the very heart of Hungary.

Steam — the irresistible spirit of the nineteenth century — has already opened the iron gates of the Danube, and induced the

grave Osmanlis—those professed scorers of commerce—to try to compete with the Austrian Lloyds for the traffic of the Bosphorus. The iron rails, which like veins and arteries seem to convey life over the earth's surface, already connect Hungary with the West, and are now branching towards the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire. A few years yet, and Stamboul will be touched by the network of European railways.

The Danube and the railway can and will then be the mighty media for the exchange of material and mental produce between the East and the West. They are the most powerful agents for bringing the Oriental and Occidental populations nearer to each other. The gradual approach of the two great opposing and dissimilar elements through the two kindred races of Turk and Magyar will soothe the harshness in both; but whether a contrast, founded on such wide and natural dissimilarities of race, will ever cease, or be even considerably mitigated, is a secret which is now buried in the unfathomable abysses of futurity.

ART. IV.—1. *The Estimates of the Army, Ordnance, and Naval Services, from 1st of April, 1853, to 31st March, 1854.*

2. *The Peril of Portsmouth. French Fleets and English Forts.* By JAMES FERGUSSON, Esq. London: 1853.

3. *A Flying Shot at Fergusson, and his Peril of Portsmouth.* By Lieutenant-Colonel JEBB, C. B. Royal Engineers, London: 1853.

4. *Copies of a Correspondence between the Board of Treasury and the Board of Admiralty on the subject of Manning the Royal Navy; together with Copies of a Report of a Committee of Naval Officers, and of Her Majesty's Order in Council relating thereto.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

WE confess that we have always been totally unable to comprehend the principle on which certain persons have objected to any outlay for perfecting such a defensive system as should not only place this country in a posture of security against a possible attack by foreign Powers, but also remove the temptation offered by the state of weakness into which our defences have fallen during a long peace. No man would neglect to insure his warehouse or his ricks, because his neighbours declared that they were animated by the most friendly feelings towards him, and

had no intention of applying the torch to his property. National defence is national insurance; and we do not think any Government can maintain a character for prudence, that neglects to complete the insurance of this country against aggression, although we may not only continue to receive the most pacific assurances from foreign governments, but even give them the fullest credit for sincerity in their professions.

Neither do we understand the merit of making a mystery of what we are doing, or of hesitating to name the quarter from which we might most reasonably anticipate an attack. On the contrary, we are of opinion, that by showing to the world how completely we are prepared for a contingency so frightful to contemplate as an invasion of England: by showing how desperate an attempt would be, and how many chances there are against its success: we remove one of the strongest inducements to make it. France is the country whose geographical position affords the most favourable opportunities for attacking us: the invasion of England has been as common a topic of conversation there as among ourselves, and is looked upon by the educated class of Frenchmen with equal alarm; but they are wholly without influence to prevent it, should the army and the masses determine on an attack. How much wiser, then, it will be to discuss freely and openly our situation, if by so doing we can convince the firebrands who would hail with acclamations an outrage that would once more set the world in flames, that such an attempt must almost as inevitably as deservedly be utterly and disgracefully defeated. Let it then be taken for granted that the blow, if it must come, will be struck by France: if sufficiently defended against her attacks, we need fear those of no other nation.

It is desirable that we should ascertain two points; that the premium we are called upon to pay is not too high: and that the insurance, when completed, will be valid. With regard to the first, we are confident, that if any reader will picture to himself the horrors which would attend the violation of our virgin shores by a hostile army, — and the utmost force of his imagination can not overcharge the picture, — he will confess that no price can be too high to pay for immunity. The remarks which we are about to offer on the different branches of the public service immediately connected with the defence of the country, and on some of the schemes for improving them, cannot fail to be interesting in themselves; and while they will show how much has been effected, and how much more is in progress towards the attainment of that great end, it will be highly satisfactory to find that a system of defence, calculated, as far

as human foresight can make it so, to secure our country against aggression, can be completed without adding materially to our present expenditure, and with a confident hope of future diminution.

It was observed by the Secretary at War, in bringing forward the Army Estimates for the present year*, that we now maintain an army greater by 21,000 men than in the year 1835, — the model year of the economists, — while the gross estimate for 1853-4 is only 117,234*l.* in excess of that for the former year. But if the estimates be examined in detail, it will be found that considerable additional expenses have been incurred in the interval on the recommendation of Commissioners, Parliamentary Committees, and other authorities; and that, on deducting these, it will appear that even with this powerful addition to its numbers, our army actually costs less than the smaller force of 1835.

This result is partly owing to the diminished cost of a soldier's maintenance, which averages now, officers and men inclusive, 40*l.* 3*s.* per head, instead of 42*l.* 16*s.* in 1835; partly to reductions in the non-effective branches, but in a very great degree to improved management. The condition of the soldier has been greatly improved in the mean time, by the reduction of stoppages for rations abroad: by the introduction of rewards for good conduct; of barrack libraries; of schools, both for children and adults; of improved barrack accommodation, which however is still susceptible of much amendment: and in other minor matters.

The discipline of the army is good, and the want of experience in field duties, to which most of our officers and men, excepting such as have served in India, are strangers, owing to the employment of our troops in small detachments, has been greatly corrected by the exercises at the camp on Chobham common, where the service of an army in the field has been carried on in all its branches.

A militia force of 65,000 active and zealous young men will, before long, be sufficiently trained to act with effect, in conjunction with the troops of the line and the artillery, if required; and we may look forward to the efficiency of this economical force, enabling the Government, at no very distant day, to dispense with a portion of the regular army, which it is now requisite to maintain at home. We hope that no future assemblies of troops for training and evolutions will be seen without a portion of Yeomanry and Militia brigaded with the line.

The enrolled pensioners form an available force of 15,837 old

and experienced soldiers. Under the above heads, and not including the constabulary force, which under certain circumstances would increase the defensive strength, we have, in round numbers, the following force in Great Britain and Ireland.

		Cavalry.	Infantry.
Regular Troops	-	7,000	45,000
Yeomanry and Militia	-	14,000	65,000
Enrolled Pensioners	-		16,000
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		21,000	126,000
		<hr/>	<hr/>

The number of men voted under the Ordnance Estimates is, in round numbers, 15,000 artillery and 2,000 sappers and miners. Of these, 10,000 artillery, including 1,200 horse artillery and 660 sappers, of whom 400 are employed on the trigonometrical survey, are in the United Kingdom, making a grand total of:—

Cavalry and Horse	Infantry and
Artillery.	Artillery.
21,200	135,460.

The Ordnance estimates show an increase of above half a million over last year, a large proportion of which is due to works of defence in progress or to be created. The charge is 246,627*l.* for works to be executed, of which 201,576*l.* at home, and 33,910*l.* abroad, together, 235,486*l.*, are for fortifications alone, not including the necessary barracks and store-houses in the new works.

The former of these sums is allotted, in various proportions, to the erection and improvement of works at the mouths of the Thames and Medway, at Dover, on the Sussex coast, at Portsmouth and Gosport, Portland Harbour, Guernsey and Alderney, Devonport, Milford and Liverpool; the harbour defence of which last important place has been resolved on since the year 1839, money has been voted for the purpose in 1846-7, and 1852-3; but most unaccountably, little or no progress has been made towards its completion up to this time.

No argument is needed to prove the necessity of rendering all the above places capable of defence; but, relying as England must mainly do, on her fleet for successful resistance to an attempt at foreign invasion; and giving due credit to the report, that when the difference arose between this country and France respecting Tahiti, King Louis Philippe had determined to make a sudden attack on Portsmouth, the success of which his officers did confidently anticipate, it will not be amiss to consider briefly the present condition of that, our greatest naval

arsenal, the destruction of which would cripple our fleet to an almost incalculable extent, and whose position, — but eight hours' steaming from Cherbourg, — would render it the most probable at which to aim a sudden blow.

Mr. Fergusson, a gentleman known as the author of 'An Essay on a proposed New System of Fortification,' has, in the work whose title stands at the head of this Article, taken a very able view of the condition of Portsmouth, as regards its defences, both by sea and land; and has suggested a scheme of defensive works on his new system.

Our military readers, and probably many non-professional ones, will remember to have seen in the Gallery of the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, a formidable looking model of a fortress, circular in form, with tier rising above tier of ramparts bristling with cannon. This was the embodiment, on a small scale, of the theory of fortification intended by its author to supersede those systems hitherto in use; and they who amongst the multitude of objects presented to them, overlooked this one, and yet feel a curiosity to behold it, will find the model at the United Service Institution in Scotland Yard.

A civilian, although he has 'from boyhood made fortification his favourite pursuit,' may not at first sight appear to be the fittest person to originate a system of fortification that should place the besieged on a footing of equality with the besieger, which it has hitherto baffled the most scientific military engineers to effect; nor would he be thought likely to receive a very cordial reception from them, when he ventured to trespass in their peculiar province. It is therefore no slight evidence of the merit of Fergusson's system, and of the liberality of our engineers, that this system has attained, during the summer, a very full and fair discussion on its merits, in the theatre of the United Service Institution, when many able officers spoke on both sides, and we believe the balance of argument was in favour of Mr. Fergusson.

Lieut. Colonel Adams, Professor of Fortification at Sandhurst College, had in the previous summer delivered a lecture in the same theatre on Fergusson's system, in which, after pointing out 'the most striking advantages of the system,' he declared that 'he could confidently leave it to work its own way to success.' This lecture is, by permission of Colonel Adams, appended to the 'Peril of Portsmouth.'

To an uneducated eye the lines of a fortress present a complication of zig-zags most difficult of comprehension; we will endeavour in a few words to make their object clear.

The great principle of the modern system of fortification is

to prevent the approach of an enemy within the extreme point of depression of the guns mounted on the walls; and for this purpose, every face or front of the works is so placed that it is flanked or enfiladed by the guns on some other face. This, "called the bastion system, which in theory is beautiful, almost perfect, entirely fails in practice to fulfil the conditions required in a fortress: so infinitely superior is the science of attack to that of defence, that the military engineer can calculate almost to a day the time required to reduce any place. The main defects of this system are, the insecurity of its flanking defences from their liability to be enfiladed, and the inability to use direct fire from the salient, and therefore the most exposed points. Accordingly, the first operation in a siege, after establishing the first parallel, is to erect batteries on the prolongation of the faces flanking the part to be approached; and the zig-zags between the parallels are carried forward in front of the salients or capitals of the bastions, whence there can be no direct fire on them.

The principle of Mr. Fergusson's system is, by enabling the fort to bring a preponderance of fire on any point, to overwhelm the batteries of the besiegers. To obtain this end, he rejects bastions and outworks, and replaces them with a work of a curvilinear outline, adapted to the form of the ground; and from a very wide and deep ditch, procures earth to form a mound from 60 to 80 feet high; this mound he fashions into four tiers of ramparts, the first on the level of the country, the others rising sixteen feet one above the other. Colonel Adams calculates that a Fergusson fort can bring nearly 100 guns to bear on any point at a distance of 600 yards, if the embrasures are cut to allow a gun to traverse 20° each way. A second great advantage claimed for this system is its immunity from enfilade. A third great advantage is the economy of its construction as compared with a fort having masonry revêtements; the expense of the masonry of a front of fortification being from 60,000*l.* to 80,000*l.*, while the earth-work is only 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l.* In a Fergusson fort there is but little masonry, but a larger amount of earth-work, and a much greater expenditure in ordnance; when completed, however, it is calculated not to have cost one fourth of the sum required for a bastioned fort on the same ground. A fourth advantage claimed for this system, and one of great importance in this country, is, that it does not require a garrison of disciplined soldiers; the sole manœuvre being the working of the guns, a proportion of artillerymen only is required, the remainder may be composed of infantry, militia, seamen, coast-guard men, and dockyard battalions.

The most important objections raised against this system are,

the complete immunity of the besieger from sorties, and the consequent facility he will have in making his approaches, even up to the edge of the ditch; that not only are the lines of a Fergusson fort open to a destructive enfilading and ricochet fire, but that from the magnitude of the mark, this fire may be maintained as efficiently by night as by day, while the enfilading batteries would be perfectly protected by thick épaulements from the fire of the fort; that riflemen in pits would silence every gun in front of them; and lastly, that the cost is vastly underrated. We conceive that Colonel Adams has refuted the former of these objections in his lecture; but, on the score of cost, we will offer a few remarks, for that is one of the strongest arguments for the application of Mr. Fergusson's system to defensive works in this country. His estimate for the cost of a work in front of Gosport, to which we shall allude presently, is 200,000*l*. A critic*, who is said to be an officer of the highest professional and practical ability, has objected that this estimate would be exceeded twice or thrice. We may grant this point, but the non-professional reader will be surprised to learn that the same line fortified according to the rules of fortification would cost little, if any thing, less than 1,000,000*l*.†

Amongst the critics of the Fergusson system of fortification, the author of 'A Flying Shot at Fergusson' deserves mention. It is a very amusing little brochure, more replete with jokes than arguments, in which the gallant author does, to his own evident satisfaction, completely demolish a Fergusson fort. It is remarkable that although Colonel Jebb is 'startled' at a civilian claiming to have discovered that which for many a long year has puzzled the most eminent engineers: viz., how to restore to the defence the superiority it possessed over the attack previous to the

* In the U. S. Magazine for February, 1853.

† Since the above was written, we have read some remarks by Lieutenant-Colonel Portlock, R.E. (at page 281. of Colonel Chesney's 'Observations on Fire Arms',) on the changes in the system of defensive works, which will result from the modern improvements, giving greatly increased range, and accuracy of fire to small-arms. The Colonel infers that the Engineer will gain some one of the following advantages in all fortresses.

1. The power of using larger lines of defence.
2. The diminution in the number of salients.
3. The power of uniting naturally strong and salient points, by simple lines, without intervening salients.
4. An effective co-operation of cannon and musketry in defence.

Thus, Colonel Portlock, arguing from entirely different premises, makes a near approach to the principles of the Fergusson System.

invention of gunpowder: and although he satirizes, with some degree of justice, Mr. Fergusson's assumption of impregnability for his system; he yet makes a statement which clearly admits the superiority of that system over those hitherto in use; for in describing his method of attacking such a fortress (p. 16.), he tells us, that in order to evade the overwhelming fire of the besieged, he should adopt the 'novel expedient' of placing the besiegers' guns in 'sunken batteries seven feet deep, without 'any parapets,' and so afford the besiegers a less definite object to fire at. The Colonel likewise admits (p. 1.), that Mr. Fergusson is 'supposed to have had the best of the discussion at the 'United Service Institution, and his flag still flies triumphant 'on his so called impregnable fortress.'

We will now proceed to consider how Mr. Fergusson proposes to apply his system to the defence of Portsmouth. The land defences consist 'of three separate and distinct lines of fortification, 'the oldest being those of Portsmouth, the trace of which belongs 'to the age of Charles II. and William III., though somewhat 'improved since their days; those of Portsea are of the time of 'George III., and very far superior, both in trace and profile; 'while those of Gosport are little better than field-works, consisting merely of an earthen rampart, unrevêted, and without 'outworks; the only defence against even an attack *de vive force* 'being a shallow cunette of very miserable dimensions.' (P. 31.)

We need not here consider the works of Portsea and Portsmouth toward the land, the island of Portsea being by nature so difficult of access, as to require but little to make it almost impregnable on that side. Gosport is the weak point, and the very inefficient works there, being still further weakened by the ground in front of them being built over, within musket shot, such cover is afforded to an attacking force that it is probable they would be carried by a *coup-de-main*, when the harbour and dockyard would be laid at the mercy of the enemy. It may be observed, that if our fleet were decoyed to a distance by a simulated attack elsewhere, there could be little resistance offered to an enemy disembarking west of Stokes Bay. The Government plan for improving the defences, so far as it is at present developed, consists in the erection of a fort, estimated to cost 45,000*l*. It is said that three principal works, connected by smaller forts, are to form a line of defence from Elson's Hard to Stokes Bay, about 2000 yards in front of the dockyard. If this be correct, then the estimate for the whole will probably far exceed that of the work proposed by Mr. Fergusson.

Mr. Fergusson proposes to form a line of defence on his system, as above described, from Frater Point on the harbour,

to Gomer's Ponds, on the western extreme of Stokes Bay. From the front of this line, the dockyard would be 4,500 yards distant, far beyond the range of shot or shell; the ground is more open, and much of it being waste and marshy, it is less costly to purchase, and is better adapted for defence. A ditch 200 feet wide, with 15 feet of water in it, and a covered way in front, would afford earth for the ramparts. The line selected being three miles long, there would be twelve miles of rampart, capable, if fully armed, of mounting 3000 guns, and in any case certainly able to bring three guns to bear on one of the enemy's. A return on the right, to prevent an enemy from turning the works on that flank, and a military canal from the left to Fort Monkton, to prevent a landing in Stokes Bay, complete a summary view of Mr. Fergusson's proposal; which we do not assert to be the best possible work for the purpose, but which, from its evident advantages over the few detached works which it is understood are to be erected, including the superior economy claimed for it, unquestionably deserves the utmost consideration. We differ on this point from Colonel Jebb who (p. 32.) holds economy of construction to be a secondary consideration. The situation of this country makes her case very different from those which are liable to become the battle ground of nations, and where consequently first-class fortresses are absolutely necessary. There are other works proposed on Portsea Island, and at Porchester Castle,—for a description of which we refer the reader to the book itself, reserving the few additional remarks we have to make for that portion which relates to the sea defences of Portsmouth, on the strength and weakness of which we differ very materially from Mr. Fergusson.

In considering the attack of Portsmouth by a squadron passing the batteries and entering the harbour, the author sets aside, as incapable of forcing the entrance, sailing ships, because they require a leading wind; and paddle-wheel steamers, because they are deficient in broadside guns, and 'the batteries are singularly well placed for hitting or disabling their paddles, and the parts of their machinery above water.' We would remark here, that if the batteries are so *singularly well* placed, they can scarcely deserve the severe judgment which Mr. Fergusson subsequently passes on them, He proceeds thus:—

'But it could be attempted by screw line-of-battle ships, and if I am not very much mistaken, with every prospect of success. The French now possess four such ships, the "Napoléon," the "Charlemagne," the "Austerlitz,"* and the "Jean Bart," and are understood to be building

* It may not be generally known, that when the French fleet passed Malta, on its way to the Levant, in May, of the three screw-ships in

others. These vessels carry from 90 to 100 guns of the heaviest calibre; and though the speed of the "Napoleon" is probably not so great as reported—thirteen or fourteen knots an hour—they are all equal to at least ten knots an hour in smooth water, and with a flood-tide in the springs, both of which they could easily command.

'At this rate of speed, about ten minutes would elapse from the time when they first came within effective reach of the guns of Southsea Castle till they were safely past all danger and anchored inside the harbour.' (P. 15.)

Having thus summarily given possession of Portsmouth Harbour to four sail-of-the-line, the author proceeds to consider the means of resistance, inefficient as they are, in his opinion, to detain an enemy even for ten minutes. He enumerates 12 guns mounted on Southsea Castle, 21 on the King's Bastion and the adjacent faces, 10 on the flank of the Platform and the orillon of the Point Batteries, 12 on the Point Battery, and 24 on Blockhouse Fort; in all, 79 pieces, most of them heavy ordnance. Then, stating how ineffective most of these guns would be, he clenches an argument which he seems to think unanswerable, with a quotation from General Lewis's 'Aide Memoire:'—'No battery or batteries, however strong, can stop or prevent any ship of war or steamer from entering a harbour when the navigation is free and the course nearly direct, if she chooses her time.' We must beg to inform Mr. Fergusson that this opinion is very far from supporting his argument, inasmuch as the navigation into Portsmouth Harbour is *not* free, the course is *not* nearly direct, and she can *not* choose her time. Although ships of the line do now, by aid of steam, pass in or out with their lower deck guns on board, they can only do so at high water spring tides, and, in these days of peace, when the ramparts are manned only with a crowd of admiring friends, a slow rate of going and the utmost circumspection are required to conduct a heavy ship in safety through the narrow and tortuous channel leading from Spithead into the harbour; even with frigates, the period for passing is very limited, and the passage never attempted till the stream of tide has slackened.

If such be the case under favourable circumstances, it is evident the difficulties must be multiplied many fold were the passage to be attempted during a heavy cannonade between the batteries and the ships; when, even if the pilot could see his way through the clouds of smoke, the helmsman could scarcely comprehend his orders or signs. Let us, however, suppose, that the adventurous enemy has reached the commencement of the

in the fleet, not one could use her screw. It is notorious that the 'Napoleon' is shaken to pieces.

channel between the buoys of the Spit and the Boyne: he is then less than a mile from the anchorage at Spithead, about 2000 yards from the angle of the King's Bastion, and half that distance from Southsea Castle, towards which his bows are directed, until, having rounded the end of the Spit, his course is pretty direct to the harbour's mouth. On arriving within 600 yards of the King's Bastion, and 1,300 yards from Blockhouse Fort, which is right ahead, he enters the narrowest part of the channel, now marked by buoys, which assuredly would not be left there to guide a foe, while the leading marks would almost certainly be obscured by smoke. The width of this part is not 200 yards, and if some of the leading ships did not here take the ground, they would be fortunate indeed. But let them pass through that difficulty, and, notwithstanding that they have followed the singular recommendation of Mr. Fergusson, and have 'coiled their hemp cables in their bows, and stowed there 'the spare sails and hammocks!' further, suppose that they have not caught fire, and approach the mouth of the harbour. Will they find it a haven of refuge after the perils of the passage, or will they not rather find guardships and blockships laid across ready to pour in a storm of shot as one by one they opened that narrow entrance, such as no ships in the world could withstand? They who witnessed the tremendous effect of the concussion shells this summer upon the 'York' hulk, will be disposed to think that, instead of our sinking ships to prevent the entrance of an enemy, it would be the sunken foe that would cause an obstruction to ourselves in the mouth of Portsmouth harbour.

We are of opinion with Mr. Fergusson, that a battery of heavy guns between Southsea Castle and the King's Bastion would be a valuable addition to the defences on the sea side; but there are many points whose weakness claims precedence, as, for example, Sconces' Point and Warden's Ledge, for forts at which places 25,000*l.* and 15,000*l.* have been voted this year.

Mr. Fergusson devotes several pages to the discussion of various modes of invasion which may be apprehended, and of defence which may be adopted, into which we need not follow him: the public mind having become fully alive to the necessity of providing a system of defence capable of resisting successfully the attacks of an enemy; or, what is more ardently to be desired, of strength and completeness sufficient to deter him from so rash an attempt.

The Navy estimates for the present year greatly exceed those of 1835-6, with which year we will again make a comparison. The votes for the two years stand thus:—

	Effective Branch.	Non-effective.	Total.
1835-6 - -	£2,416,300	£1,561,423	£3,977,723
1853-4 - -	4,763,440	1,319,103	6,082,543

On comparing the estimates, it appears that the excess of the present over the former year may be broadly stated to lie under the five following heads: —

	1835-6.	1853-4.
Wages - - -	£993,054	£1,736,236
Victuals - - -	339,825	615,426
Wages to Artificers in Establishments at home	350,612	683,648
Naval Stores - - -	361,713	1,023,011
New Works - - -	62,440	256,948
	<u>£2,107,644</u>	<u>£4,315,269</u>

The two first items being dependent on the number of seamen, which is proportioned to the requirements of the public service, we need only show the numbers for the two years.

	Seamen.	Boys.	Marines.	Total.
1835-6 - -	15,500	2,000	9,000	26,000
1853-4 - -	31,000	2,000	12,500	45,500

The increase under the other heads may be referred mainly to the expenses entailed by the progress of steam navigation: to the erection and working of establishments for making and repairing machinery, — the steam factories at Woolwich and Portsmouth alone employ 1,200 artificers; — to the enlargement of old, and the excavation of new docks, capable of receiving ships of the greatly increased dimensions now built: to the purchase of engines, machinery, coals. These are a few of the most important sources of increased expenditure; but the result is, that we possess the largest and most powerful navy in the world, composed in part of the finest ships ever seen.

As our object is only to present a general view of the present condition of our national defences, we shall not enter into any detail of the numbers and force of the ships of the Royal Navy, as a whole, but merely note some particulars of the steam branch of the service, which has become so important.

In 1835, the navy possessed only 16 steamers of all denominations.

In 1845, the force had increased to 55 vessels, of the gross nominal power of 11,500 horses.

In 1853, there are about 170 steam vessels of a gross nominal power of 45,500 horses, besides eight or 10 line-of-battle ships

and frigates building. In 1845, the average horse-power was a little over 200: it is now about 266, showing a large increase in the power, as well as in the number of our steamers. The nominal horse-power is by no means to be taken as a measure of the actual power: for example, the engines of the 'Agamemnon,' nominally of 600, actually work up to more than 2000 horses. The original cost of engines is from 55*l.* to 60*l.* per nominal horse-power; thus, the machinery of our steam-navy, at the present time, represents a capital of above two-and-a-half millions.

We will close our remarks on this branch of our subject by stating, that a few weeks would enable us to send to sea a fleet of seventeen sail of screw line-of-battle ships, a number which next spring will see largely augmented; and we may challenge the world to show two ships, in their respective classes, superior to the 'Duke of Wellington' of 130, and the 'Impératrice' of 60 guns. The naval review of the 11th August was unquestionably a brilliant demonstration of the steam power of the British navy; but it has led, not unnaturally, to some exaggerated notions, and an undue depreciation of vessels whose sails are their only means of propulsion. The most important step hitherto taken in the adaptation of steam to the purposes of maritime warfare, was the adoption of the screw propeller, with which the whole of the broadside becomes available for carrying guns; and the ship, unlike the paddle steamer, is equal to any other sailing ship when not under steam. Now this last quality is of the highest importance: for we believe that a vastly larger proportion of the service in any future war, will be performed under sail than under steam. Indeed, if we reflect on the enormous supplies of coal that it will be requisite to send to the depôts and arsenals on foreign stations, it will be evident that to keep pace with the consumption must be a matter of extreme difficulty under the casualties of war; and it is by no means impossible that the day may arrive when the fate of nations will depend on the capture, or safe arrival at its destination, of a convoy of colliers, whose precious freight will then more than ever deserve the appellation of Black Diamonds.

We could have wished, had our limits permitted, to have entered into some detail respecting the great improvements made in our dockyard system in the last five years. We can only state some of the results.

At page 389. of the Report of the Commons' Committee on Dockyard Appointments, we find a return of the numbers of men employed in the yards in each year since 1848. In that and the previous year, upwards of 12,000 men were employed,

which has been gradually reduced to 9,700; with a saving in wages in 1851-2, as compared with 1846-7, of 139,105*l.*; and notwithstanding the increased activity in the yards of late, it has not been found necessary to add a single man to the establishments.

There is no doubt that the system introduced under the administration of Lord Auckland, which made merit, instead of political influence, the standard for advancement, has been the main cause of this beneficial change, and it is most necessary to prevent a recurrence of the scandal and mischief arising from political jobbing in this department of the public service. It has been proposed to effect this object by disfranchising the voters who work in the yards, which would be at once an act of injustice and inefficient to the purpose. If the junior lords of the Admiralty were permanently appointed, and prohibited from sitting in Parliament, and all appointments and promotions in the dockyards were made by the board, giving to no one member any especial patronage in them, we believe the end would be fully answered. For the good of the service generally, we hope we are long to see this idea adopted, the principle of which has been acknowledged in the retention of some lords through successive administrations.

We have a fine fleet, let us consider how it is to be manned. It has become the fashion of late with some writers to ascribe the difficulties experienced in raising the additional number of seamen voted by Parliament, to the unpopularity of the naval service, and to the retention of corporal punishment. We believe neither of these assertions to be based on truth.

The Report of the Committee of Naval Officers (p. 29.) calls the notice of their lordships to a letter from the Registrar General of Seamen, dated 19th November, 1852, which states that the actual number of seamen employed in British registered ships, in the year 1851, was 175,000; and, after deducting protected and exempted persons, there only remain 80,000 available for service, of whom not more than 21,000 are to be found in the United Kingdom at any one time. This fact alone proves how great difficulty must attend the providing a sudden addition of men to the navy.

The same report, (p. 13.) shows, from a statistical return compiled by the Accountant-General, that, whilst Portsmouth, Plymouth, and their neighbourhood furnishes 5,689 men to the navy, Liverpool and Bristol only send 350; and the Committee justly infer from this fact, that 'where Her Majesty's service is best known to the seamen, it is most appreciated by them.'

A few facts which we have gathered, will further show that the difficulty of procuring seamen exists equally in our own mercantile marine and in that of the United States; that it is to be ascribed, in a great measure, to the very large numbers of seamen who have gone to the gold-diggings in California and Australia; which, with the general increase of trade, has caused such a scarcity of seamen, that wages have risen in the English merchant service twenty-five per cent.

The present rates of wages in the port of London are for voyages to India and the Mediterranean, about 2*l.* 10*s.* per month; to Quebec, 3*l.*; and we saw the articles of a ship which engaged a crew in July to make the voyage to Australia and back, at 3*l.* 10*s.* per month.

We saw, in the shipping office on Tower Hill, a crew of able seamen engaged to take a vessel of eighty-one tons burthen to Melbourne, at one shilling per month wages, and at the same time a crew of another ship received 4*s.* a man for the run home from the same port. Another ship, just returned from a trading voyage in the Southern Seas, engaged a crew at Hong-Kong in July, 1852, at 100 dollars a man to the first port of discharge; the money was earned at Bombay in less than four months.

By the favour of Colonel Aspinwall, Consul-General of the United States, we were shown the papers of an American ship, which had just arrived with a cargo of timber from St. John's, New Brunswick, at which port she engaged a crew for the run to England at 64 dollars a man. This being paid at the colonial rate of five dollars to the pound sterling, was equal to nearly 13*l.* for less than two months' service. In the general trade of the United States, 15 dollars a month are considered a high rate of wages, equal, at the rate of par for gold, to about 3*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.**

We have said enough to show that a great scarcity of seamen exists, which is felt equally in all services, and in all quarters of the globe; and while profits are occasionally to be made in the merchant service, such as we have noticed, it might be expected that not even the fresh advantages lately offered to seamen would draw them to the naval service; but the fact, that within six months, more than 4,000 out of the 5,000 additional seamen voted in December, 1852, were raised, affords a fair presumption that, instead of the navy being unpopular, a contrary feeling exists among seamen. The repeal of the manning clauses of the Mercantile Marine Act will doubtless relieve the tightness of the sailor market.

* 4*s.* 1½*d.* to the dollar.

Next, with regard to corporal punishment. If the punishment of flogging were to be abolished, we must provide a substitute. Imprisonment and separation, in all but large ships, are impossible, and likewise, in some degree, punish the innocent who have to do the duty of the offenders, whose services are lost for the time. Means of imprisonment on shore, excepting on the home station, have not yet been devised. There remains a description of punishments which would be called into more frequent use; and we can faithfully assure our readers that we are firmly convinced, that no system could be devised more repulsive and harassing to the seaman, or one which would so effectually render him liable to the exercise of personal tyranny, with comparative irresponsibility on the part of his officer, as the substitution of a system of secondary punishments for that of flogging, by the authority and on the responsibility of the captain only. The checks on the undue exercise of this authority are many and powerful; first, the actual orders and regulations of the Admiralty, which absolutely prohibit the hasty infliction of punishment, and restrict the amount, in all cases; next, the knowledge that a captain sending an immoderate return of punishments is always called on for an explanation, and is looked upon unfavourably at the Admiralty; thirdly, the probability of his being held up in the public journals as a brute who gloats over and enjoys the spectacle of a flogging; and, though last not least, the aversion which every officer feels as acutely as any professional advocate of humanity to the infliction of this punishment, and which he only does inflict because it is essential to the good order and discipline which it is his highest duty to uphold.

The punishment of flogging was abolished in the United States' Navy by a vote of Congress in 1850, and the result, as reported by the Secretary of the Navy, was quoted by Sir James Graham, in the late Session.*

'The multiplication of courts-martial, and all the consequences of disorder and crime, are among the least of the apparent and growing evils of the new system. The demoralisation of both officers and men is a yet more observable consequence. The absence or prohibition of the usual punishments known to seamen has led to the invention of new penalties of the most revolting kind, in the application of which full scope has been given, and the strongest provocations administered, to that exhibition of temper and passion, which, however natural it may be to men of hasty and excitable natures, is seldom indulged without leading to cruelties that must disgrace those who practise them, and, what is more to be feared, raise a sentiment in the public mind hostile

* See the 'Times,' February 19th, 1853.

to the navy itself. Of that large number of men who have heretofore constituted the pride of our navy by their good seamanship and highly respectable personal deportment, composing the great body of our mariners, — of these men, it is a fact which invites the deepest concern of Congress, we are daily deprived by their refusal to enter again into the service, until, as they ask, they shall have some assurance that a better system of discipline may be restored.'

Thus it appears that, where the trial has been made, the abolition, not the retention, of corporal punishment has produced unpopularity.

We do not, however, conceal our satisfaction, — believing as we do that our navy is in a state of good discipline, — in learning that the number of punishments has diminished from 1,363 in 1848, to 578 in 1852. It is probable that the number will be still further reduced by the power given to commanding officers, in an Act of the late Session, for making better provision concerning the entry and service of seamen, to punish deserters summarily by committing them to prison. Whether the majority of seamen would not prefer a flogging to six months with hard labour in the common jail, is a question we need not enter upon at this time.

The real cause of the difficulty experienced in adding men to the fleet cannot be better described than in the words of the Memorial from the Board of Admiralty, which was read before the Queen in Council, on the 1st April, 1853.

'The difficulties are inherent in the system itself, which consists in entering men for particular ships selected by themselves, nominally for five years, but practically, according to immemorial usage, for the period during which a ship is commissioned, averaging from three to four years; and then, after much expense, time, and labour bestowed in training them, they are disbanded. A certain portion of the men thus discharged never return to the navy; some carry the fruits of their training to foreign flags; the larger number return at periods dictated by their own convenience or inclination, and not by any regard to the wants of the service. This desultory mode of proceeding is a cause of great embarrassment and expense in conducting the ordinary duties of the naval service. It creates uncertainty as to the period when ships may be expected to be ready for sea; and the evil becomes one of great magnitude, and a serious danger, when political considerations suddenly demand the rapid equipment of Your Majesty's ships.' (P. 44.)

The investigations of a Committee of naval officers into the subject, led to the conclusion that it was essential to give the navy a permanent constitution.

It was therefore ordered, that all boys entering the navy should be required to engage for a period of ten years, from the

age of eighteen; and to induce seamen now serving, or hereafter volunteering, to enter for the same period, certain additions were made to the rates of pay, which will be best shown by the following table: —

Rating.	Present Rate of Pay per Annum.			Additional to Men entering for ten Years.			Together.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Ordinary Seamen, 2d Class	16	14	7	1	10	5	18	5	0
Ordinary do. - -	19	15	5	3	0	10	22	16	5
Able do. - -	24	6	8	4	11	3	28	17	11
Petty Officers, from -	28	17	11	4	11	3	33	9	2
Do. to -	31	18	9	4	11	3	36	10	0

Two new classes are introduced, viz.: —

Leading seamen, with 2*d.* a day, or 3*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.* a year, in addition to any other pay to which they may be entitled.

Chief petty officers, with 3*d.* a day, or 4*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* a year, in addition to any other pay to which they may be entitled.

Good conduct gratuities of 7*l.* and 5*l.* are given to Petty Officers on paying off every ship, the proportion graduating from ten men in the largest, to two in the smallest classes; while seamen may get good conduct pay, in addition to all other, of 1*d.*, 2*d.*, or 3*d.* a day according to the number of badges they have obtained.

Seamen are to be allowed to purchase their discharge, and after ten years' service, to be entitled, at the discretion of the Admiralty, to a pension of 6*d.* a day, to be increased to 8*d.* a day, after fifteen years' service; all such pensioners being liable to give further service in the event of an armament of war.

The pay of warrant officers,—that is, of gunners, boatswains, and carpenters, a valuable class of officers who rise from before the mast,—is increased from 25 to 30 per cent.: the sea-pay of a First Class Warrant Officer being now 120*l.* a year; while they are declared eligible to receive commissions in the navy, as a reward for distinguished acts of gallantry and daring.

We have thus given a slight notion of the certain advantages which attend the career of a good and well conducted seaman in our navy: a comparison with the rates of pay in the United States Marine will not be unfavourable; the slightly lower rates in our service being more than compensated by the higher rewards to good men.

Rating.	Pay per Annum in U. S. Navy.
Landmen - - -	£22 3 8
Ordinary Seamen - - -	24 12 6
Able - - -	29 11 0
Petty Officers, 1st class -	44 6 6

But, however popular we make the navy, the broad fact remains staring us in the face, that there are only about 21,000 seamen available for service to be found in the Kingdom at any one time, exclusively of those actually serving; and at the same time there are 53,600 seamen protected from compulsory service, besides a large number of seafaring men, who are not registered seamen under the provisions of the Act 7 & 8 Victoria, c. 112. It is therefore clear that no system of volunteering, or even the press, would supply the immediate wants of the navy on the outbreak of war. This alarming condition, which has for several years engaged the attention of many distinguished officers and friends of the navy, is now, we trust, in a fair way of being remedied.

Before we notice the measures which have been adopted to create a supply of seamen for the defence of the coasts and ports of this Kingdom, we will refer to an article in our last Number, founded on the 'Enquête Parlementaire' made into the state of the French navy in 1850.

It appears that so long since as 1668, the system of registering seamen was established in France, for the purposes of maritime conscription. This system was amended in 1790, and again in 1835, and is perfectly adapted to its end, but is entirely compulsory.

'The permanent levy includes all seamen from 20 to 40, and officers of the merchant service to 45 (years of age), not having previously served. The next class consists of men who have not served above four years; and beyond that the whole maritime population may be raised. After thirty-six months' service, the officers and men are entitled to their liberty till called on to serve again; and after six years, they are no longer liable to the ordinary levies.'

The result is, that the French Government can call into immediate service a body of trained seamen sufficient to man every ship in the fleet.

Such a system of compulsory service is absolutely impossible for this country, where impressment, even in the greatest emergency, would be looked upon, by many persons, with an evil eye; the Government has therefore had recourse to a plan by which a sort of maritime militia is to be trained, and certain other classes of seafaring men are to be liable to be called

on to serve ; of the success of which plan we entertain the most sanguine hopes and expectations ; and which will produce a body of about 20,000 men in the hour of need.

An Act passed in the late Session empowers the Admiralty to raise 10,000 men from among the seafaring population, to be termed 'Naval Coast Volunteers.' These men are to be entered for five years, to receive a bounty of 6*l.* a man, and the pay of able seamen, while serving. They are to be trained and exercised on shore, or on board ship within fifty leagues of the coast during twenty-eight days in every year ; and to be called into active service by royal proclamation, the term of war-service being one year, which may be extended under exigency ; and they may then be employed 100 leagues from the coast of the United Kingdom. They are to be exempt from all other service during the time they belong to the volunteers.

It is also enacted, that, under the like circumstances, the coast guard, the seamen riggers in the dockyards, navy pensioners, and seafaring men employed under the Board of Customs, and other public departments, shall be called into active service on board the fleet.

This measure, with the extension of the term of service in the navy, will, we believe, put this country in such a position, that, on any sudden or unforeseen emergency, we shall be enabled to man a fleet in as short a time as our neighbours ; and we are confident, that, with the exception of the very bigoted or very ignorant, but one opinion can prevail amongst us as to their great merit and utility.

Something we would have said of the desirableness of the mercantile ports being able to provide vessels to assist in the defence of the coast. The steam-tugs, at least, ought to be capable of acting as gun-boats ; and we fear that not one per cent. of the mercantile steam-fleet is able to carry ordnance, including even the Ocean mail steamers, whose owners are mostly bound by their contracts to build ships capable of bearing an armament, — but we have already passed our limits and must conclude ; not doubting that this important point is receiving the consideration due to it from those in authority. We hope that every reader will be as well satisfied with the progress made in providing what we have termed a good National Insurance, as we are ourselves.

ART. V.—*History of Greece*. By GEORGE GROTE, Esq.
Vols ix. x. xi. London: 1852–53.

IN his eighth volume, Mr. Grote brought the narrative of Grecian History to its great turning point—the subjugation of Athens by the Spartans and their confederates; including, as the immediate sequel of that event, the sanguinary tyranny of the Thirty—the rapid reaction in Grecian feeling—the return of the exiles under Thrasybulus, subsequently known at Athens by the designation of ‘those from Phyle’ or ‘those from Piræus’—the restoration of Athens, under the tolerance of Sparta, to internal freedom though denuded of empire, and the inauguration of a new era of concord by the healing measures which made the archonship of Euclides memorable to succeeding generations. The recital of these stirring events was immediately followed by those admirable chapters on the Sophists and on Socrates, which may be pronounced the most important portion yet written of this History; whether we consider the intrinsic interest of their subjects—the deep-rooted historical errors which they tend to dispel—or the great permanent instruction contained in their display of the characteristics of one of the most eminent men who ever lived—a man unique in history, of a kind at all times needful, and seldom more needed than now.

The three volumes which we have here to notice contain no delineations belonging to the same elevated rank with that which closed so impressively the volume immediately preceding. The exposition and estimate of Plato, which alone would have afforded similar opportunities, though falling within the chronological period comprised in the eleventh volume, is not included in it, but reserved for one yet to come; except in so far as the philosopher is personally involved in the series of Sicilian transactions, through his connexion with Dion, whose remarkable and eminently tragic character and career form the centre of interest in the most striking chapter of these volumes. There is little scope in this portion of the work for bringing prominently forward any great ethical or philosophical ideas; and the illustrations it contains of Grecian character and institutions relate principally to points which the author had largely illustrated before. In no other part of the book is the continuity of the narrative so little broken by dissertation or discussion; but in the rapid succession of animating incidents, and the living display of interesting individual characters, these volumes are not inferior to any of the preceding.

They commence with the expedition of Cyrus, and the retreat of Xenophon and the Ten Thousand: an episode fertile in exemplifications of Grecian and of Asiatic characteristics, and especially valuable as being the only detailed account of the personal adventures of any body of Greeks, or even of any individual Greek, which has been directly transmitted to us by an eye-witness and actor. Next follows the history of the short-lived Lacedæmonian ascendancy; its deplorable abuse, and the conspicuous Nemesis which fell on that selfish and domineering community, by the irreparable prostration of her power through the arms of Thebes, so many years the firm ally of Sparta, and for her treacherous conduct to whom, even more than for any other of her misdeeds, she, in the general opinion of Greece, deserved her fate. The chapters which describe this contest, relate also the resurrection of Athens, and her reattainment, in diminished measure and for a brief period, of something like imperial dignity. At this halting-place Mr. Grote suspends the main course of his narrative, and takes up the thread of the history of the Sicilian Greeks; the most interesting part of whose story is included in the present volumes. He illustrates, by the conduct and fortunes of the elder Dionysius, the successive stages of the 'despot's progress.' Here, too, the avenging Nemesis attends; but, as usual with the misdeeds of rulers, the punishment is vicarious. The younger Dionysius, a weak and self-indulgent but good-natured and rather well-meaning inheritor of despotic power, suffered the penalty of the usurpation and the multiplied tyrannies of his energetic and unscrupulous father. The decline and fall of the Dionysian dynasty, and the restoration of Sicilian freedom, are related by Mr. Grote in his best style of ethical narrative, and with a biographical interest equal to the historical. For, as the chapters on the fall of Sparta are animated and exalted by the great qualities of Epaminondas—the first of Greeks in military genius, surpassed only by Pericles in comprehensive statesmanship, yet even more honourably distinguished among Grecian politicians by the unostentatious disinterestedness of his public virtue, and the gentleness and generosity of his sentiments towards opponents; so the Sicilian chapters are lighted up, first by the high-minded but chequered, and even in his errors eminently interesting, character of Dion, and afterwards by the steadier and more unmixed brilliancy of the real liberator of Sicily, the wise, just, and heroic Timoleon.

Last comes that gloomy period of Grecian history, the age of Philip of Macedon: during which, enfeebled by the long and destructive wars which had successively prostrated every one of

her leading states, Greece fell a prey to an able and enterprising neighbour, who, at the head of a numerous population of hardy warriors implicitly obedient to his will, was enabled to turn her own military arts and discipline against herself. At the time when Philip commenced his career of aggrandisement, the only Grecian state in a condition to meet him with anything like equality of strength was Athens; still free and prosperous, but so lowered in public spirit and moral energy, that she threw away all her opportunities, and only rallied with a vigour worthy of her ancestors when it was too late to do more than perish honourably. These sad events, so far as their course can be traced through the extreme imperfection of our information, are related by Mr. Grote down to the fatal day of Chæroneia. And neither is this melancholy recital destitute of the relief afforded by the appearance on the scene of an illustrious character. Even in that age Athens possessed a man, of whom posterity has ratified the proud boast, drawn from him in self-vindication, that if there had been one such man in every state of Greece, or even in Thessaly and Arcadia only, the attempts of Philip to bring the Greeks to subjugation would have been frustrated. What one man, of boundless energy, far-reaching political vision, and an eloquence unmatched even at Athens, could do to save Greece from an inevitable doom, Demosthenes did. His life was an incessant struggle against the fatality of the time, and the weaknesses of his countrymen. And though he failed in his object, and perished with the last breath of the freedom for which he had lived, he has been rewarded by that immortal fame, which, as he reminded the Athenians in the most celebrated passage of his greatest oration, is not deserved only by the successful; and which he merited not more by his unequalled oratorical eminence, than by the fact, that not one mean, or selfish, or narrow, or ungenerous sentiment is appealed to throughout those splendid addresses, in which he strove to rouse and nerve his countrymen to the contest, or proudly mourned over its unsuccessful issue.

The Chæroneian catastrophe closes the epoch of Grecian history. Though much that is highly interesting remains, its interest is derived from other sources; the diffusion of Greek civilisation through the Eastern nations by the expedition of Alexander and its consequences, and a few noble but vain efforts, against insuperable obstacles, in Greece itself, to regain a freedom and national independence irrecoverably lost. Of the period of Grecian greatness, we have now from Mr. Grote the completed history. We have the budding, the blossoming, and the decay and death. The fruits which survived—the per-

manent gifts bequeathed by Greece to the world, and constituting the foundation of all subsequent intellectual achievements—these he has not yet, or has only partially characterised. But he has produced a finished picture of the political and collective life of Greece, and the distinctive characters of the form of social existence, during and by means of which she accomplished things so far transcending what has ever elsewhere been achieved in so marvellously short a space of time. From the legislation of Solon to the field of Marathon, a hundred years of preparation; from Marathon to Chæroneia, barely a hundred and fifty years of maturity:—that century and a half is all that separates the earliest recorded prose writing from Demosthenes and Aristotle, all that lies between the first indication to the outer world of what Greece was destined to be, and her absorption by a foreign conqueror. A momentous interval, which decided for an indefinite period the question, whether the human race was to be stationary or progressive. That the former condition is far more congenial to ordinary human nature than the latter, experience unfortunately places beyond doubt; and history points out no other people in the ancient world who had any spring of unborrowed progress within themselves. We have no knowledge of any other source from which freedom and intellectual cultivation could have come, any other means by which the light never since extinguished might have been kindled, if the world had been left, without any elements of Grecian origin, to be fought for between the unlettered Romans and the priest-led and despot-governed Asiatics. The people and the period on which this depended, must be important to posterity as long as any portion of the past continues to be remembered: and by the aid of Mr. Grote we are now enabled to see them with a clearness and accuracy, and judge them with a largeness of comprehension, never before approached.

To disparage what mankind owe to Greece, because she has not left for their imitation a perfect type of human character, nor a highly improved pattern of social institutions, would be to demand from the early youth of the human race what is far from being yet realised in its more advanced age. It would better become us to consider whether we have, in these particulars, advanced as much beyond the best Grecian model, as might with reason have been expected after more than twenty centuries; whether, having done no more than we have done with all that we have inherited from the Greeks, and all that has been since superadded to their teachings, we ought not to look up with reverent admiration to a people, who, without any of our adventitious helps, and without the stimulus of preceding

example, moved forward by their native strength at so gigantic a pace, though in an earlier portion of the path. It is true, that in institutions, in manners, and even in the ideal standard of human character, as existing in the best minds, there is an improvement. All the great thinkers and heroic lives, from Christ downward, would have done little for humanity, if after two thousand years no single point could be added to the type of excellence conceived by Socrates or Plato. But it is not the moral conceptions of heroes or philosophers which measure the difference between one age and another, so much as the accepted popular standard of virtuous conduct. Taking that as the criterion, and comparing the best Grecian with the best modern community, is the superiority wholly on the side of the moderns? Has there not been deterioration as well as improvement, and the former, perhaps, almost as marked as the latter? There is more humanity, more mildness of manners, though this only from a comparatively recent date; the sense of moral obligation is more cosmopolitan, and depends less for its acknowledgment on the existence of some special tie. But we greatly doubt if most of the positive virtues were not better conceived, and more highly prized, by the public opinion of Greece than by that of Great Britain; while negative and passive qualities have now engrossed the chief part of the honour paid to virtue; and it may be questioned if even private duties are, on the whole, better understood, while duties to the public, unless in cases of special trust, have almost dropped out of the catalogue: that idea, so powerful in the free States of Greece, has faded into a mere rhetorical ornament.

In political and social organisation, the moderns, or some of them at least, have a more unqualified superiority over the Greeks. They have succeeded in making free institutions possible in large territories; and they have learnt to live and be prosperous without slaves. The importance of these discoveries—for discoveries they were—hardly admits of being overrated. For want of the first, Greece lost her freedom, her virtue, and her very existence as a people; and slavery was the greatest blot in her institutions while she existed. It is sufficient merely to mention another great blot, the domestic and social condition of women (on which point, however, Sparta, in a degree surprising for the age, formed an honourable exception); since, in this respect, the superiority of modern nations is not so much greater as might be supposed. Even on the subject of slavery there are many, and not inconsiderable palliations. Slavery in the ancient, as in the Oriental world, was a very different thing from American or West Indian slavery.

The slaves were not a separate race, marked out to the contempt of their masters by indelible physical differences. When manumitted, they mixed on equal terms with the general community; and though, in Greece, seldom admitted, any more than other aliens, to the complete political franchise of their patron's city, they could generally become full citizens of some new colony, or be placed on the roll of some old commonwealth recruiting its numbers after a disaster. The facility with which, in these small territories, slaves could escape across the frontier, must, at the worst, have been a considerable check to ill usage. The literature of the Athenians proves that they not only cultivated, but counted on finding, moral virtues in their slaves, which is not consistent with the worst form of slavery. Neither, in Greece, did slavery produce that one of its effects by which, above all, it is an obstacle to improvement—that of making bodily labour dishonourable. Nowhere in Greece, except at Sparta, was industry, however mechanical, regarded as unworthy of a freeman, or even of a citizen; least of all at Athens, in whose proudest times a majority of the Demos consisted of free artisans. Doubtless, however, in Greece as elsewhere, slavery was an odious institution; and its inherent evils are in no way lessened by the admission, that as a temporary fact, in an early and rude state of the arts of life, it may have been, nevertheless, a great accelerator of progress. If we read history with intelligence, we are led to think concerning slavery as concerning many other bad institutions, that the error was not so great of first introducing it, as of continuing it too long.

Though Grecian history is crowded with objects of interest, all others are eclipsed by Athens. Whatever in Greece most merits the gratitude of posterity, Athens possessed in fullest measure. If the Hellenic nation is in history the main source and most conspicuous representative of progress, Athens may claim the same honourable position in regard to Greece itself, for all the Greek elements of progress in their highest culmination were united in that illustrious city. This was not the effect of an original superiority of natural endowments in the Athenian mind. In the first exuberant outpourings of Grecian genius, Athens bore no more than her share, if even so much. The many famous poets and musicians who preceded the era of Marathon, the early speculators in science and philosophy, and even the first historians, were scattered through all the divisions of the Greek name; with a preponderance on the side of the Ionians of Asia Minor, the Sicilian and Italian Greeks, and the islanders, all of whom attained prosperity much earlier, as well as lost it sooner, than the inhabitants of Continental Greece.

Even Bœotia produced two poets of the first rank, Pindar and Corinna, at a time when Attica had only yet produced one.* By degrees, however, the whole intellect of Greece, except the purely practical, gravitated to Athens; until, in the maturity of Grecian culture, all the great writers, speakers, and thinkers were educated, and nearly all of them were born and passed their lives, in that centre of enlightenment. Of the other Greek states, such as were oligarchically governed contributed little or nothing, except in a military point of view, to make Greece illustrious. Even those among them which, like Sparta, were to a certain degree successful in providing for stability, did nothing for progress, further than supplying materials of study and experience to the great Athenian thinkers and their disciples. Of the other democracies, not one enjoyed the Eunomia, the unimpeded authority of law, and freedom from factious violence, which were quite as characteristic of Athens as either her liberty or her genius; and which, making life and property more secure than in any other part of the Grecian world, afforded the mental tranquillity which is also one of the conditions of high intellectual or imaginative achievement.

While Grecian history, considered philosophically, is thus almost concentrated in Athens, so also, considered æsthetically, it is an epic, of which Athens, as a collective personality, may be called the hero. The fate of Athens speaks to the imagination and sympathies like that of the Achilles or Odysseus of an heroic poem; absorbing into itself even the interest excited by the long series of eminent Athenians, who seem rather like successive phases under which Athens appears to us, than individuals independent and apart from it. Nowhere does history present to us a collective body so abounding in human nature as the Athenian Demos. In them all the capacities, all the impulses and susceptibilities, the strength and the infirmities of human character stand out in large and bold proportions. There is nothing that they do not seem capable of understanding, of feeling, and of executing; nothing generous or heroic to which they might not be roused, and scarcely any act of folly, injustice, or ferocity into which they could not be hurried, when no honest and able

* By some oversight, Mr. Grote has passed over one whole generation of Grecian poets. He has given as full an account as the materials permit of the earlier poets, down to the age of Alcæus and Sappho, and has spoken at some length of the dramatists, but has said nothing (except incidentally) of Pindar, Simonides, Anacreon, Bacchylides, or the two Bœotian poetesses, Myrtis and Corinna, the last of whom was five times crowned at Thebes in competition with Pindar.

adviser was at hand to recall them to their better nature. Ever variable, according to the character of the leading minister of the time; alike prudent and enterprising under the guidance of a Pericles; carelessly inert or rashly ambitious when their most influential politicians were a Nicias and an Alcibiades; yet never abdicating their own guidance, always judging for themselves, and, though often wrong, seldom choosing the worse side when there was any one present capable of advocating the better. Light-hearted too, full of animal spirits and joyousness; revelling in the fun of hearing rival orators inveigh against each other; bursting with laughter at the mingled floods of coarse buffoonery and fine wit poured forth by the licensed libellers of their comic stage against their orators and statesmen, their poets, their gods, and even themselves — ‘that angry, waspish, intractable little old man, Demos of Pnyx’*, the well-known laughingstock of one of the most successful comedies of Aristophanes. They are accused of fickleness; but Mr. Grote has shown on how false an estimate of historical facts that imputation rests†, and that they were much rather remarkable for the constancy of their attachments. They were not fickle, but (a very different quality, vulgarly confounded with it,) mobile; keenly susceptible individually, and of necessity still more collectively, to the feeling and impression of the moment. The Demos may be alternately likened to the commonly received idea of a man, a woman, or a child, but never a clown or a boor. Right or wrong, wise or foolish, Athenians are never *ἀπαίδευτοι*; theirs are never the errors of untaught or unexercised minds. They are always the same Athenians who have thrilled with the grandeur and pathos of Æschylus and Sophocles, who were able to ransom themselves from captivity by reciting the verses of Euripides, who have had Pericles or Demosthenes for their daily instructor and adviser, and have heard every species of judicial case, public and private, civil and criminal, propounded for their decision, in the most finished compositions ever spoken to a public assembly. They are the same Athenians, too, who live and move among the visible memorials of ancestors, the greatest of whose glories was that they had dared and suffered all things rather than desert the liberty of Greece. Their just pride in such progenitors, and

* Mr. Grote's paraphrase of

Ἄγροικος ὀργὴν, κυαμοτρῶξ, ἀκράχολος,

Δῆμος Πνυκίτης, δύσκολον γερόντιον. (*Arist. Eq.* 41.)

† See this point admirably handled in the remarks in the last chapter but one of the fourth volume, on the condemnation of Miltiades.

their sense of what was due to the dignity and fame of their city, were ever ready to be evoked for any noble cause. Even at the last, when their energies, too late aroused, had been insufficient to save them, and they lay crushed at the feet of a conqueror, they earned the admiration of posterity by bestowing, instead of displeasure, additional distinctions on the author and adviser of the struggle which had preserved their honour, though not their safety or their freedom.

In every respect Athens deserved the high commendation given her by Pericles in his funeral oration, of being the educator of Greece.* And we cannot better set forth the characteristics of this great commonwealth at its greatest period, than by following Mr. Grote in quoting some passages from that celebrated discourse. †

‘ We live under a constitution such as noway to envy the laws of our neighbours—ourselves an example to others rather than imitators. It is called a democracy, since its aim tends towards the Many, and not towards the Few; in regard to private matters and disputes the laws deal equally with every one; while in respect to public dignity and importance, the position of each is determined, not by class influence, but by worth, according as his reputation stands in his particular department; nor does poverty or obscure station keep him back, if he has any capacity of benefiting the state. And our social march is free, not merely in regard to public affairs, but also in regard to tolerance of each other’s diversity of tastes and pursuits. For we are not angry with our neighbour for what he does to please himself, nor do we put on those sour looks, which are offensive, though they do no positive damage. Thus conducting our private social intercourse with reciprocal indulgence, we are restrained from misconduct in public matters by fear and reverence of our magistrates for the time being, and of our laws, especially such laws as are instituted for the protection of the wronged, and such as, though unwritten, are enforced by a common sense of shame. Besides this, we have provided for our minds numerous recreations from toil, partly by our customary solemnities of sacrifice and festival throughout the year, partly by the elegance of our private arrangements, the daily charm of which banishes pain and annoyance. From the magnitude of our city, the products of the whole earth are brought to us, so that our enjoyment of foreign luxuries is as much our own and assured, as of those which we produce at home. In respect to training for war, we differ from our opponents (the Lacedæmonians) on several material points. First, we lay open our city as a common resort; we apply no xenclasy to exclude any one from any lesson or spectacle,

* Τὴν πᾶσαν πόλιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος παιδεύσιν εἶναι. (*Thuc.* ii. 41.)

† Vol. vi. pp. 193—196. We have ventured to change a few expressions in Mr. Grote’s translation, in order, though at the expense of smoothness, to bring it closer to the literal meaning of the original.

for fear lest an enemy should see and profit by it : for we trust less to manœuvres and artifices than to native boldness of spirit for warlike efficiency. Next, in regard to education, while the Lacedæmonians even from their earliest youth subject themselves to an irksome exercise for the attainment of courage, we, with our easy habits of life, are not less prepared than they to encounter all perils within the measure of our strength. . . .

'We combine taste for the beautiful with frugality of life, and cultivate intellectual speculation without being enervated : we employ wealth for the service of our occasions, not for the ostentation of talk ; nor is it disgraceful to any one who is poor to confess himself so, though he may be blamed for not actively bestirring himself to get rid of his poverty. Our politicians are not exempted from attending to their private affairs, and our private citizens have a competent knowledge of public matters ; for we stand alone in regarding the man who keeps aloof from politics, not as a blameless person, but as a useless one. Far from accounting discussion an impediment to action, we think it an evil not to have been instructed by deliberation before the time for execution arrives. For, in truth, we combine in a remarkable manner boldness in action with full debate beforehand on that which we are going about : whereas with others ignorance alone imparts daring, debate induces hesitation. Assuredly those ought to be regarded as the stoutest of heart, who, knowing most accurately both the terrors of war and the sweets of peace, are still not the less willing to encounter peril.'

This picture, drawn by Pericles and transmitted by Thucydides, of ease of living and freedom from social intolerance, combined with the pleasures of cultivated taste, and a lively interest and energetic participation in public affairs, is one of the most interesting passages in Greek history : placed, as it is, in the speech in which the first of Athenian statesmen professed to show 'by what practices and by what institutions and manners 'the city had become great.' This remarkable testimony, as Mr. Grote has not failed to point out, wholly conflicts, so far as Athens is concerned, with what we are so often told about the entire sacrifice, in the ancient republics, of the liberty of the individual to an imaginary good of the state. In the greatest Greek commonwealth, as described by its most distinguished citizen, the public interest was held of paramount obligation in all things which concerned it ; but, with that part of the conduct of individuals which concerned only themselves, public opinion did not interfere : while in the ethical practice of the moderns, this is exactly reversed, and no one is required by opinion to pay any regard to the public, except by conducting his own private concerns in conformity to its expectations. On this vital question of social morals, Mr. Grote's remarks, though belonging to an earlier volume than those which we are review-

ing, are too valuable, as well as too much to the purpose, to require any apology for quoting them. (Vol. vi. pp. 200-2.)

‘The stress which he (Pericles) lays upon the liberty of thought and action at Athens, not merely from excessive restraint of law, but also from practical intolerance between man and man, and tyranny of the majority over individual dissenters in taste and pursuits, deserves serious notice, and brings out one of those points in the national character upon which the intellectual development of the time mainly depended. The national temper was indulgent in a high degree to all the varieties of positive impulses: the peculiar promptings in every individual bosom were allowed to manifest themselves and bear fruit, without being suppressed by external opinion, or trained into forced conformity with some assumed standard: antipathies against any of them formed no part of the habitual morality of the citizen. While much of the generating causes of human hatred was thus rendered inoperative, and while society was rendered more comfortable, more instructive, and more stimulating, all its germs of productive fruitful genius, so rare everywhere, found in such an atmosphere the maximum of encouragement. Within the limits of the law, assuredly as faithfully observed at Athens as any where in Greece, individual impulse, taste, and even eccentricity, were accepted with indulgence, instead of being a mark as elsewhere for the intolerance of neighbours or of the public. This remarkable feature in Athenian life will help us in a future chapter to explain the striking career of Sokrates; and it farther presents to us, under another face, a great part of that which the censors of Athens denounced under the name of “democratical license.” The liberty and diversity of individual life in that city were offensive to Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle—attached either to the monotonous drill of Sparta, or to some other ideal standard, which, though much better than the Spartan in itself, they were disposed to impress upon society with a heavy-handed uniformity. That liberty of individual action, not merely from the over-restraints of law, but from the tyranny of jealous opinion, such as Perikles depicts in Athens, belongs more naturally to a democracy, where there is no select One or Few to receive worship and set the fashion, than to any other form of government. But it is very rare even in democracies: nor can we dissemble the fact, that none of the governments of modern times, democratical, aristocratical, or monarchical, presents any thing like the picture of generous tolerance towards social dissents, and spontaneity of individual taste, which we read in the speech of the Athenian statesman. In all of them, the intolerance of the national opinion cuts down individual character to one out of a few set types, to which every person, or every family, is constrained to adjust itself, and beyond which all exceptions meet either with hatred or with derision. To impose upon men such restraints, either of law or of opinion, as are requisite for the security and comfort of society, but to encourage rather than repress the free play of individual impulse subject to those limits, is an ideal which, if it was ever approached at Athens, has certainly never been

attained, and has indeed comparatively been little studied or cared for in any modern society.'

The ambitious external policy of Athens is one of the points in Greek history which have been most perversely misjudged and misunderstood. Modern historians seem to have succeeded to the jealous animosity of the Corinthians and other members of the Spartan alliance at the opening of the Peloponnesian war, though by no means at one with them in the reasons they are able to assign for it. The Athenians certainly were not exempt from the passion universal in the ancient world for conquest and dominion. It was a blemish, when judged by the universal standard of right; but as a fact, it was most beneficial to the world, and could not have been other than it was without crippling them in their vocation as the organ of progress. There was scarcely a possibility of permanent improvement for mankind until intellect had first asserted its superiority, even in a military sense, over brute force. With the barbarous part of the species pressing in all round, to crush every early germ of improvement, all would have been lost if there had not also been an instinct in the better and more gifted portions of mankind to push for dominion over the duller and coarser. Besides, in a small but flourishing free community like Athens, ambition was the simple dictate of prudence. No such community could have had any safety for its own freedom but by acquiring power. Instead of reprobating the Athenian maritime empire, the whole of mankind, beginning with the subject states themselves, had cause to lament that it was not much longer continued; for, that the fate of Greek civilisation was bound up with it, is proved by the whole course of this history. When the jealousies of the other Greek states stripped Athens of her empire, and nominally restored the subject allies to an independence which they were wholly incapable of maintaining, Greece lost her sole chance of making successful head against Macedonia or Rome. And considering what the short period of Athenian greatness has done for the world, it is painful to think in how much more advanced a stage human improvement might now have been, if the Athens of Pericles could have lived on in undiminished spirit and energy for but one century more.

The Athenian empire was the purest in its origin of all the empires of antiquity. It was at first a free and equal confederacy for defence against the Persians, organised by Aristides with a justice worthy of his name. It never would have become anything else, but that the majority of the allies, consisting of the comparatively unwarlike and unenergetic Ionian Greeks,

chose to make their contribution in money instead of personal service, preferring to pay Athens for protecting them, rather than protect themselves. Even the removal of the treasury of the confederacy from Delos to Athens was no act of the Athenians, but of the synod of the confederacy, on the proposition of Samos. When, at a later date, some of the states attempted to secede from the alliance, and enjoy the peace and security which it afforded without sharing in the cost, the general sentiment of the confederates at first went along with Athens in bringing back the recusants by force of arms. But, with these small town communities, to be defeated was to be conquered, and the conquered, by the universal custom of antiquity, received the law from the conqueror. That law, in the case of Athens, was only occasionally either harsh or onerous; yet thus, by degrees, the once equal allies sunk into tributaries. The few who had neither revolted, nor commuted personal service for pecuniary payment, retained their naval and military force and their immunity from tribute, and had nothing to complain of, but that, like the dependencies of England or of any modern nation, they were compelled to join in the wars of the dominant state, without having any voice in deciding them. They do not seem to have alleged any other practical grievances against the Athenian community: their complaints, recorded by Thucydides, turn almost solely upon offence to the Grecian sentiment of city independence and dignity. Under the protection of the powerful Athenian navy, the allied states enjoyed a security never before known in Greece, and which no one of them could possibly have acquired by its own efforts. Many of them grew rich and prosperous. With their internal government Athens, as a general rule, did not interfere; in Mr. Grote's opinion, not even to make it democratical, when it did not happen to be so already. Like all the weak states of antiquity, whether called independent or not, they were liable to extortion and oppression; not, however, from the Athenian people, but from rich and powerful Athenians in command of expeditions, against whom the Demos, when judicially appealed to, was ready to give redress. The most express testimony is borne to this general fact by the able oligarchical conspirator Phrynichus, as reported by the oligarchically inclined Thucydides, in his account of that remarkable incident in Athenian history, the revolution of the Four Hundred. The historian represents Phrynichus as reminding his fellow-conspirators that they could expect neither assistance nor good-will from the allies, since these well knew that it was from the oligarchical Athenians they were liable to injury, and looked

upon the Demos as their protector.* The reality of the protection is exemplified by the case of Paches, the victorious general who had just before captured Mitylene. The resentment of the Athenians against that revolted city was such, that they were (as is well known) persuaded by Cleon to pass a decree for putting the whole military population to death, though they recalled the mandate before it had been executed. Yet, Paches having abused his victory by violating two women of Mitylene, having first put their husbands to death, was prosecuted by them before the Athenian dicastery, and the facts being proved, was so overwhelmed by the general burst of indignation that he slew himself in open court. This incident (which until its real circumstances had been hunted out by Niebuhr, was one of the stock examples of Athenian and popular ingratitude) is a striking illustration of the difference between the Athenian empire and the Lacedæmonian; for when Spartan citizens, in repeated instances, committed similar enormities, not against conquered enemies but friendly allies, no redress could be obtained. It required the field of Leuctra to avenge the daughters of Skedasus, or appease the manes of the victims of the harmost Aristodemus.

However unpopular the dominion of Athens may have been among her subjects, though it appears to have been so with the leading men rather than with the majority, they had reason enough to regret it after it was at an end; for not only was the little finger of Lacedæmon heavier than the whole body of Athens, but many of them only exchanged Greek dominion for that of the barbarians. Sparta was never able for more than a few years to protect the Asiatic Greeks even against Persia; and at the height of her power, as soon as the obligation of defending them became inconvenient, she, by the peace of Antalcidas, actually ceded the whole of that great division of Greece to the Persian king, to whom it remained subject until the invasion of Alexander. Several of the most prosperous of the islanders fared no better: Cos, Chios, and Rhodes, when by the Social War they succeeded in detaching themselves from the second Athenian empire, fell almost immediately into dependence on the Carian despot Mausolus, against whom the Rhodians had soon to appeal again

* Τούς τε καλοὺς καὶ κακοὺς ὀνομαζομένους οὐκ ἐλάσσω αὐτοὺς νομίζειν σφίσι πράγματα παρέξειν τοῦ δήμου, ποριστὺς ὄντας καὶ ἐσηγητὰς τῶν κακῶν τῷ δήμῳ, ἐξ ὧν τὰ πλείω αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖσθαι· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι, καὶ ἄκριτοι ἂν καὶ βιαίτερον ἀποθνήσκουσιν, τὸν τε δὴμον σφῶν τε καταφυγὴν εἶναι καὶ ἐκείνων σωφρονιστὴν. Καὶ ταῦτα παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἐπισταμένας τὰς πόλεις σαφῶς αὐτὸς εἰδέναι, ὅτι οὕτω νομίζουσιν. (*Thuc.* viii. 48.)

to their enemy, Athens, for assistance. So mere a name was that universal autonomy, which was used so successfully to stir up the feelings of the Hellenic world against its noblest member; so entirely did the independence of Greece turn on the maintenance of some cohesion among her multifarious particles, while the political instincts of her people obstinately rejected the merging of the single city-republic in any larger unity.

The intellectual and moral preeminence which made Athens the centre of good to Greece, and of the good to after generations of which Greece has been the medium, was wholly the fruit of Athenian institutions. It was the consequence, first of democracy, and secondly, of the wise and well-considered organisation by which the Athenian democracy was distinguished among the democratic constitutions of antiquity. The term democracy may perhaps be deemed inapplicable to any of the Grecian governments, on account of the existence of slavery; and it is inapplicable to them, in the purest and most honourable sense of the term. But in another sense, not altogether inappropriate, those governments, the first to which the word democracy was applied, must be considered entitled to the name, in the same manner as it is given to the northern States of America, although women are there excluded from the rights of citizenship; an exclusion which, equally with that of slaves, militates against the democratic principle. The Athenian constitution was so far a democracy, that it was government by a multitude, composed in majority of poor persons—small landed proprietors and artisans. It had the additional democratic characteristic, far more practically important than even the political franchise; it was a government of boundless publicity and freedom of speech. It had the liberty of the bema, of the dicastery, the portico, the palaestra, and the stage; altogether a full equivalent for the liberty of the press. Further, it was the *only* government of antiquity which possessed this inestimable advantage in the same degree, or retained it as long. Enemies and friends alike testify that the *παρρησία* of Athens was paralleled in no other place in the known world. Every office and honour was open to every citizen, not, as in the aristocratic Roman republic (or even the British monarchy), almost nominally, but really: while the daily working of Athenian institutions (by means of which every citizen was accustomed to hear every sort of question, public and private, discussed by the ablest men of the time, with the earnestness of purpose and fulness of preparation belonging to actual business, deliberative or judicial) formed a course of political education, the equivalent of which modern nations have not known how to give even to

those whom they educate for statesmen. To their multitudinous judicial tribunals the Athenians were also indebted for that habitual love of fair play, and of hearing both sides of a case, which was more or less a quality of the Greeks generally, but had so firm a hold on the Athenians that it did not desert them under the most passionate excitement. The potency of Grecian democracy in making every individual in the multitude identify his feelings and interests with those of the state, and regard its freedom and greatness as the first and principal of his own personal concerns, cannot be better described than in the words of Mr. Grote. After quoting a remarkable passage from Herodotus descriptive of the unexpected outburst of patriotic energy at Athens after the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ and the establishment of the Cleisthenean constitution*, Mr. Grote proceeds as follows (vol. iv. pp. 237-9.):—

‘Democracy in Grecian antiquity possessed the privilege, not only of kindling an earnest and unanimous attachment to the constitution in the bosoms of the citizens, but also of creating an energy of public and private action such as could never be obtained under an oligarchy, where the utmost that could be hoped for was a passive acquiescence and obedience. Mr. Burke has remarked that the mass of the people are generally very indifferent about theories of government; but such indifference (although improvements in the practical working of all governments tend to foster it) is hardly to be expected among any people who exhibit decided mental activity and spirit on other matters; and the reverse was unquestionably true, in the year 500 B. C., among the communities of ancient Greece. Theories of government were there any thing but a dead letter; they were connected with emotions of the strongest as well as of the most opposite character. The theory of a permanent ruling One, for example, was universally odious; that of a ruling Few, though acquiesced in, was never positively attractive, unless either where it was associated with the maintenance of peculiar education and habits, as at Sparta, or where it presented itself as the only antithesis to democracy, the latter having by peculiar circumstances become an object of terror. But the theory of democracy was preeminently seductive; creating in the mass of the citizens an intense positive attachment, and disposing them to voluntary action and suffering on its behalf, such as no coercion on the part of other governments could entail. Herodotus, in his comparison of the three sorts of government, puts in the front rank of the advantages of democracy “its most splendid name and promise”—

* * Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νυν ἡυξηντο· δηλοὶ δὲ οὐ κατ’ ἓν μόνον ἀλλὰ πανταχῇ, ἢ ἰσηγορίῃ ὥς ἔστι χῆμα σπουδαῖον, εἰ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τυραννευόμενοι μὲν, οὐδαμῶν τῶν σφέας περιεικόντων ἔσαν τὰ πολέμια ἀμείνους, ἀπαλλαχθέντες δὲ τυράννων, μακρῷ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο· δηλοὶ ὦν ταῦτα, ὅτι κατεχομένοι μὲν, ἐβελοκάκεον, ὥς δεσπότης ἐργαζόμενοι, ἐλευθερωθέντων δὲ, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἐωὐτῇ προθυμέετο κατεργάζεσθαι. (*Herod.* v. 78.)

its power of enlisting the hearts of the citizens in support of their constitution, and of providing for all a common bond of union and fraternity. This is what even democracy did not always do: but it was what no other government in Greece *could* do: a reason alone sufficient to stamp it as the best government, and presenting the greatest chance of beneficent results. . . . Among the Athenian citizens, certainly, it produced a strength and unanimity of positive political sentiment, such as has rarely been seen in the history of mankind, which excites our surprise and admiration the more when we compare it with the apathy which had preceded, and which is even implied as the natural state of the public mind in Solon's famous proclamation against neutrality in a sedition. Because democracy happens to be unpalatable to most modern readers, they have been accustomed to look upon the sentiment here described only in its least honourable manifestations—in the caricatures of Aristophanes, or in the empty commonplaces of rhetorical declaimers. But it is not in this way that the force, the earnestness, or the binding value of democratical sentiment at Athens is to be measured. We must listen to it as it comes from the lips of Perikles, while he is strenuously enforcing upon the people those active duties for which it both implanted the stimulus and supplied the courage; or from the oligarchical Nikias in the harbour of Syracuse, when he is endeavouring to revive the courage of his despairing troops for one last death-struggle, and when he appeals to their democratical patriotism as to the only flame yet alive and burning even in that moment of agony. From the time of Kleisthenes downward, the creation of this new mighty impulse makes an entire revolution in the Athenian character; and if the change still stood out in so prominent a manner before the eyes of Herodotus, much more must it have been felt by the contemporaries among whom it occurred.

The influences here spoken of were those of democracy generally. For the peculiar and excellent organisation of her own democracy, Athens was indebted to a succession of eminent men. The earliest was her great legislator, Solon; himself the first capital prize which Athens drew in the dispensations of the Destinies; a man whose personal virtue ennobled the city by which he was chosen to legislate, and the merit of whose institutions was a principal source of the deep-rooted respect for the laws, which distinguished Athens beyond any other of the ancient democracies. The salutary forms of business established by Solon, and calculated to secure as much caution and deliberation as was compatible with ultimate decision by a sovereign Ecclesia, lived through the successive changes by which the constitution was rendered more and more democratic. And though it is commonly supposed that popular passion in a democracy is peculiarly liable to trample on forms when they stand between it and its object—which is indeed, without question, one of the dangers of a democracy—there is

no point in the character of the Athenians more remarkable than their respect and attachment to the forms of their constitution. In the height of their anger against Pericles for not leading them out to defend their lands and houses from the ravages of the Peloponnesians — because he, standing on his privilege as a magistrate, abstained from calling an assembly, no assembly met. There is indeed but one marked instance known to us, in Athenian history, of that violation of forms which was the daily practice of most of the oligarchical governments. That one was a case of great and just provocation, the 'cause célèbre' of the six generals who neglected to save their drowning countrymen after the sea fight of Arginusæ: and there was, as Mr. Grote has shown, no injustice in the fact of their condemnation by the people, though there was a blameable violation of the salutary rules of criminal procedure established for the protection of the innocent. It was in this case that the philosopher Socrates, accidentally that month a senator of the presiding tribe, as firm against the 'civium ardor prava jubentium' as afterwards against the 'vultus instantis tyranni,' singly refused to join in putting the question to the assembly contrary to the laws; adding one to the proofs that the man of greatest intellect at that time in Athens was also its most virtuous citizen.

After Solon (omitting the intervening usurpation of Pisistratus), the first great constitutional change was the reformation of Cleisthenes, an eminent man, to whose character and historical importance no one before Mr. Grote had done justice. The next was that in which the immediate mover was Aristides, at the re-establishment of the city after the Persian war, when the poorest class of citizens was first admitted to share in public employments. The final measures which completed the democratic constitution were those of Pericles and Ephialtes; more particularly the latter, a statesman of whom, from the unfortunate absence of any cotemporary history of the period between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars except the brief introductory sketch of Thucydides, we have to lament that too little is known, but of whom the recorded anecdotes indicate a man worthy to have been the friend of Pericles.* Ephialtes perished by assassination, a victim to the rancorous hatred of the oligarchical party. Assassination afterwards disappears from Athenian public life, until reintroduced on a regular system by the same party, to effect the revolution of the Four Hundred. The Athenian Many, of whose democratic irritability and

* See particularly Ælian, V. H. xi. 9. and xiii. 39.

suspicion we hear so much, are rather to be accused of too easy and good-natured a confidence, when we reflect that they had living in the midst of them the very men who, on the first show of an opportunity, were ready to compass the subversion of the democracy by the dark deeds of Peisander and Antiphon, and when they had effected their object, perpetrated all the villanies of Critias and his associates. These were not obscure private individuals, but men of rank and fortune, not only prominent as politicians and public speakers, but continually trusted with all the great offices of state. Truly Athens was in more danger from these men than from the demagogues; they were indeed themselves the worst of the demagogues — described by Phrynichus, their confederate, as, for their own purposes, the leaders and instigators of the Demos to its most blameable actions, *ποριστὰς καὶ ἐσθηγῆτας τῶν κακῶν τῷ δήμῳ, ἐξ ὧν ἴδ' ἀπλείω αὐτοὺς ὠφέλεισθαι*.

These are a few of the topics on which a flood of light is let in by Mr. Grote's History, and from which those who have not read it may form some notion of the interest which pervades it, especially the part relating to the important century between 500 and 400 B. C. We have chosen our instances according to our own estimate of their importance, rather than according to their fitness to display the merits of the book. The searching character of Mr. Grote's historical criticism is not suspiciously confined to matters in which his own political opinions may be supposed to be interested. Though the statement has the air of an exaggeration, yet after much study of Mr. Grote's book we do not hesitate to assert, that there is hardly a fact of importance in Grecian history which was perfectly understood before his re-examination of it. This will not seem incredible to those who are aware how new an art that of writing history is; how very recently it is that we possess histories, of events not cotemporary with the writer, which, apart from literary merit, have any value otherwise than as materials; how utterly uncritical, until lately, were all historians, even as to the most important facts in history, and how much, even after criticism had commenced, the later writers merely continued to repeat after the earlier. In our own generation, Niebuhr has effected a radical revolution in the opinions of all educated persons respecting Roman history. Grecian events, subsequent to the Homeric period, are more authentically recorded; but there, too, a very moderate acquaintance with the evidence was sufficient to show how superficially it had hitherto been examined. That the Sophists, for example, were not the knaves and profligates they are so often represented, could be gathered even from the statements of the

hostile witnesses on whose authority they were condemned. The Protagoras alone, of their great enemy Plato, is a sufficient document. Again, the Athenian democracy had been so outrageously, and without measure, misrepresented, that whoever had read, as so few have done, Thucydides and the orators with decent intelligence and candour, could easily perceive that the vulgar representation was very wide of the truth; just as any one who had read Livy could see, and many did see, that the Agrarian law was not the unjust spoliation that was pretended: but as it required Niebuhr to detect with accuracy what the Agrarian law actually was, so no less profound a knowledge of Greek literature than that of Mr. Grote, combined with equal powers of reasoning and reflection, would have sufficed to make the effective working of the Athenian constitution as well known to us as it may now be pronounced to be. The mountain of error which had accumulated and hardened over Greek history, the removal of which had been meritoriously commenced by Dr. Thirlwall, has not only been shaken off, but the outlines of the real object are now made visible. And so cautious and sober is Mr. Grote in the estimate of evidence, so constantly on his guard against letting his conclusions outrun his proofs, as to make it a matter of wonder that among so much that is irreparably lost, his researches have enabled him to arrive at so considerable an amount of positive and certifiable result.

This conscientious scrupulousness in maintaining the demarcation between conjecture and proof, is more indispensable than any other excellence in a historian, and above all in one who sets aside the common notion of many of the facts which he relates, and replaces it by a version of his own. Without this quality, such an innovator on existing beliefs inspires no reliance, and can only, at most, unsettle historical opinion, without helping to restore it. Anybody can scrawl over the canvas with the commonplaces of rhetoric or the catchwords of party politics; and many, especially in Germany, can paint in a picture from the more or less ingenious suggestions of a learned imagination. But Mr. Grote commands the confidence of the reader by his sobriety in hypothesis, by never attempting to pass off an inference as a fact, and, when he differs from the common opinion, explaining his reasons with the precision and minuteness of one who neither desires nor expects that anything will be taken upon trust. He has felt that a history of Greece, to be of any value, must be also a running commentary on the evidence, and he has endeavoured to put the reader in a position to judge for himself on every disputable point. But the discussions, though to a historical taste as interesting as the narra-

tive, are not carried on at its expense. Wherever the facts, authentically known, allow a consecutive stream of narrative to be kept up, the story is told in a more interesting manner than it has anywhere been told before, except in the finest passages of Thucydides.

We are indeed disposed to assign to this history almost as high a rank in narrative as in thought. It is open, no doubt, to minute criticism; and many writers are superior to Mr. Grote in rapidity, grace, and picturesqueness of style. But even in these respects there is no such deficiency as amounts to a fault, while in two qualities, far more important to the interest, not to say the value of his recitals, he has few equals and probably no superior. The first is, that at each point in the series of events, he makes it his primary object to fill his own mind and his reader's with as correct and complete a conception as can be formed of the situation; so that we enter at once into the impressions and feelings of the actors, both collective and individual, and understand without effort how things came to pass as they did. Niebuhr had already, in his *Lectures on Ancient History* (recently published), carried his characteristic liveliness of conception into the representation of the leading characters of Greek history, depicting them, often we fear with insufficient warrant from evidence, like persons with whom he had long lived and been familiar; but, for clearness and correctness in conceiving the surrounding circumstances, and the posture of affairs at each particular moment, we do not think him at all comparable to Mr. Grote. This genuine realisation of the successive situations, renders the narrative itself a picture of the Greek mind. Carrying on throughout the succession of feelings concurrently with that of events, the writer becomes, as it were, himself a Greek, and takes the reader along with him. And hence, if every discussion or dissertation in the book were omitted, it would still be wonderfully in advance of any former history in making the Greeks intelligible. For example; no modern writer has made the reader enter into the religious feelings of the Greeks as Mr. Grote does. Other historians let it be supposed that, except in some special emergencies, beliefs and feelings relating to the unknown world counted for very little among the determining causes of events; and it is a kind of accredited opinion, that the religion of the ancients sat almost as lightly on them as if it had been to them what it is in modern literature, a mere poetical ornament. But the case was quite otherwise: religion was one of the most active elements in Grecian life, with an effect, in the early rude times, probably on the whole beneficial, but growing more and more injurious as civili-

sation advanced. Mr. Grote is the first historian who has given an adequate impression of the omnipresence of this element in Grecian life; the incessant reference to supernatural hopes and fears which pervaded public and private transactions, as well as the terrible power with which those feelings were capable of acting, and not unfrequently did act, on the Hellenic susceptibilities. While our admiration is thus increased for the few superior minds who, like Pericles and Epaminondas, rose above at least the vulgarer parts of the religion of their country, or, like Plato, probably rejected it altogether, we are enabled to see the explanation of much that would otherwise be enigmatical, and to judge the Greeks with the same amount of allowance for errors produced by their religion, which in parallel cases is always conceded to the moderns.

The other eminent quality which distinguishes Mr. Grote's narrative is its pervading *ἦθος*; the moral interest, which is so much deeper, and more impressive than picturesque interest, and exists in portions of the history which afford no materials for the latter. The events do not always admit of being vividly depicted to the mental eye; and when they do, the author does not always make use of the opportunity; but one thing he never fails in—the moral aspect of the events and of the persons is never out of sight, and gives the predominating character to the recital. We use the word moral not solely in the restricted sense of right and wrong, but as inclusive of the whole of the sentiments connected with the occasion. Along with the clear light of the scrutinising intellect, there is the earnest feeling of a sympathising contemporary. This rich source of impressiveness in narration is often wanting in writers of the liveliest fancy, and the most brilliant faculty of delineating the mere outside of historical facts: but where it is present, it may enable us to content ourselves with far less of those more superficial merits than are found in Mr. Grote's book; it might even reconcile us, if need were, to their entire absence.

With regard to style, in the ordinary sense, what is most noticeable in Mr. Grote is, that his style always rises with his subject. The more valuable the thought, or interesting the incident, the apter and more forcible is the expression; as is generally the case with writers who are thinking of their subject rather than of their literary reputation. We can conscientiously say of him what, rightly understood, is the highest praise which, on the score of mere composition, a writer in the more intellectual departments of literature can desire or deserve; that everything which he has to express, he is always able to express adequately and worthily.

We have observed an announcement that the 'History' is to be completed in one more volume ; but it seems to us impossible that the remaining matter can be compressed into such a space without undue abridgment, even if the author adheres rigidly to the limit which he originally, and, we think, unnecessarily prescribed to himself—the end of the generation of Alexander. The conquests of the great Macedonian—the long struggles which led to the formation of Greek kingdoms from the fragments of the Persian empire—the Lamian war, and the administration of Athens under Phocion and under Demetrius Phalereus—are yet to come. But, above all, an historical and philosophical estimate of Plato and Aristotle is promised for the next volume ; and to be as thorough and satisfactory as that already given of Socrates, it will probably require to be much longer. If to this be added any account of the civil, as distinguished from the political life of Athens, her internal legislation, and the practical condition of her people, or any general estimate of the Greeks and of Grecian civilisation, we anticipate a sufficient overflow to extend far into a thirteenth volume ; and we hope that Mr. Grote may be induced to add a fourteenth, and continue the History to the Roman Conquest. We do not ask him to recount the events of the Macedonian period with the minuteness suitable to the Peloponnesian and Theban wars ; but there are few readers who would not regret the absence of a general outline of that period ; while, there are portions of the later history, particularly that of the Peloponnesian Greeks, which, in personal interest, may vie with any of the preceding : and it would be gratifying to have a delineation of Agis and Cleomenes, Aratus and Philopœmen, from the same hand which has drawn the great men of an earlier and more fortunate time. The objections to a further lengthening of the work, appear to us altogether unimportant. No one who reads this History will wish that it were shorter. A book which has reached twelve volumes may well extend to fourteen ; and if its reduction to the apostolic number were considered desirable, a better way of effecting this in future editions would be to make some reduction in the unnecessary size and width of the type, in which this work greatly exceeds the standard editions of Gibbon, or any other of the more voluminous English historians.

ART. VI.—*An Essay on the Principles and Construction of Military Bridges and the Passages of Rivers in Military Operations.* By General Sir HOWARD DOUGLAS, Bart., G. C. B., G. C. M. and G., D. C. L. Oxf., F. R. S., &c. &c. Third edition. London: 1853.

IT must be obvious to the common sense of every thinking man, that an army destitute of bridge equipments, and unskilled in the art of putting them together, is, for all the practical operations of war, well nigh worthless. The infantry may be stout, sufficiently drilled and appointed—the cavalry horses good, and the artillery excellent—but, except for purposes absolutely and locally defensive, nothing whatever can be done with them. No general could move such an army, save along high roads or across open plains and commons; for the first river or canal which crossed the line of his march would interpose an insuperable obstacle to his further progress, and bring him to a stand-still. Accordingly we find that, as soon as nations pass beyond a state of absolute barbarism, they begin to devise means for surmounting this difficulty. The painted warrior is satisfied with his canoe or coracle. Carrying nothing with him except his weapons, on which he depends for his supplies in war, as he is accustomed to do for daily food in peace, he paddles over lakes and rivers in search of his enemy, or flees by the same process from him. But, no sooner has his tribe received the first rudiments of civilisation, than a different course becomes necessary. War has ceased to be an indulgence of personal revenge, or a struggle for the possession of some disputed hunting-ground. The objects sought by it are grander and more lasting. Our chief—now a king—is covetous of political power and extensive territory; neither of which can be achieved except there be order and discipline in his masses. But order and discipline in masses are coincident only with such an extent of organisation as shall enable them when moving to keep together and to act in concert everywhere. The canoe and the coracle do not suffice for this, and if they did, they would still force our king to depend upon chance for the supply of his daily wants. He, therefore, takes to bridge-making; and the accounts which have come down to us of the military operations of the old Egyptians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans prove that he is not slow in arriving at a tolerable amount of proficiency in the art. Darius laid his pontoons upon the Bosphorus and the Danube, and so passed them both. Let anybody read with

care the account given by Herodotus of the bridges thrown by Xerxes across the Hellespont, and he will be satisfied that there was no lack either of mind or of material in the Persian armies. So, also, we learn from Xenophon, that the broad Tigris failed to stay the retreat of the Ten Thousand, because they spanned it with a bridge upon thirty-seven trestles, and marched across. As to Alexander, it is evident from the statements of Arrian, that he carried to the conquest of India a bridge equipment as complete in every respect as any which at this day follows the track of the best appointed European armies. The passage of the Hydaspes fully settles this point. It was not effected at random, but by means of light vessels which were brought up upon carriages, divided, some of them into two, others into three parts, for the convenience of transport. These he put together on the river's bank, behind the screen of a thick wood, and having launched them, raft-wise — pretty much as our sappers and miners launched their rafts last summer on Virginia Water — he marched his army across. Nor was the case different with the Romans, who seem to have carried this, as they did other branches of the art of war, to a high state of perfection. Cæsar informs us, that he was accustomed to pass the rivers of Gaul on wooden platforms, which were sustained at certain intervals by vessels made of wicker-work, and covered with the skins of beasts. And we need not pause to demonstrate, that the pile or tressel bridge which he laid upon the Rhine was as admirable a piece of military mechanism as any upon record.

The establishment of the empire did not, for many a day, affect injuriously either the skill or courage of the Romans. They continued to extend their conquests in all directions, neither the Danube nor the Euphrates, nor any other river arresting their progress; for they undertook no distant campaign with armies of which the equipment was not in every respect complete. And even when they fought only to keep what had been already won, they did it on scientific principles. The bridge-train of Julian, when he went forth to chastise the Persians, seems to have been excellent. It was the loss of this train, which, after the fall of Julian, compelled Jovian to capitulate on the banks of the Tigris to the Persian King Sapor. But a change comes over the vision of our dream, after the pride of Rome has been humbled, and her empire overthrown. A new age of barbarism arrives, and with it the neglect of all that has a tendency to redeem war (considered as an art) from its grossness. There was no more skill in manœuvring men now — no more science in the preparation of means for facilitating the progress of columns from one point to another. Each feudal

chief became the leader of a band of outlaws, working his will by sheer strength of hand, and incapable of surmounting any other difficulty than that which the person of a mailed adversary might present. How the leaders of the first crusade contrived to carry their followers through the east of Europe into the Holy Land we are unable to conceive. But the enormous extent of their losses shows that every requisite to the efficiency of an army was wanting to them. Nor did matters greatly mend, as far as the particular art of which we are now speaking is concerned, for some time after the invention of gunpowder. The artillery first fabricated was of such unwieldly proportions that no bridges, except such as were composed of the most enduring materials, could sustain its weight. Indeed, so recently as the thirty years' war, the leaders on both sides were forced, in order to carry their guns across the German rivers, to bring up heavy oaken vessels; from the floorings of which props sprang so strong that they sufficed to carry massive joists of timber, on which a road was laid. Bridges so formed, besides that they were extremely inconvenient of transport, ran a constant risk of destruction from the accidents of war or climate; for the carrying away of a single barge rendered all the others useless, and the means of repairing so serious a disaster were rarely at hand.

It was about the middle of the seventeenth century that the Dutch, first of modern European nations, began to adapt bateaux, or small vessels, to the formation of military bridges. These they prepared with very considerable skill. The sides were nearly vertical, the bottoms flat, the extremities gradually diminishing in breadth and terminating at each end in an inclined plane which made an angle of 45 degrees with the surface of the water. The vessels themselves were not of solid oak, but composed of a frame-work of timber over which a covering of tin was drawn. Hence their great portability, and hence also the application to them of the term 'pontoon,' or 'pontoon,' a word which has ever since been employed to signify a boat composed of light materials, and built exclusively for military purposes. The invention was so obviously valuable, that it soon attracted the notice of other States. The French followed the example of the Dutch so early as 1762, and supplied their armies with a regular bridge train, which has never since been wanting to them. Other nations followed one by one a like course; so that early in the present century there was no army of continental Europe but numbered among its materials of war a bridge equipment. Some covered the frame-works of their pontoons with copper; some adhered to the Dutch model, and preferred tin; the Russians alone overlaid their wicker-work

with sackcloth, which they saturated with tar till it became impermeable by water. But it does not appear that then, any more than now, pontoon bridges were considered adequate to all the emergencies of service. Marshal Turenne, for example, though carrying one along with him, was afraid to trust his communications across the Rhine and the Meuse to materials so fragile. He formed his standing bridges out of the common country boats, and found them adequate. Nor can we be surprised at this. The pontoons in use during the war of the Spanish succession were much smaller than those to which we are accustomed; it was therefore necessary, in laying them down, to keep them closer to one another than is done in these days, because the bridge could not otherwise obtain buoyancy sufficient to support the weight of men, horses, guns and stores passing over; and as the course of the water was thus very much obstructed, the bridge, especially on rivers like the Rhine, ran great risk of being carried away by the current, besides incurring increased hazard of destruction from floating bodies sent down by the enemy from above.

Our next stage in the art of military bridge-making occurs about 1787 or 1788, when a M. Gribcauval, an officer in the French service, brought forward an improved pontoon, which was adopted and called after the name of the inventor. Its length was 36 feet 3 inches, its breadth 6 feet 9 inches, its height 3 feet 9 inches, and it weighed 4,079 lbs. avoirdupois. It was of vast capacity and buoyancy; for one such vessel, when used as a ferry-boat, could carry from fifty to sixty armed men across a river. But it laboured under this serious drawback, that its great weight rendered the task of conveying it from place to place difficult and laborious. One of the last occasions on which it seems to have been used was in 1809, when Napoleon supported upon pontoons of this description his bridge across the Danube. Its place has long ago been supplied in the French service by bateaux in every respect more convenient. We shall have occasion to describe them more in detail by-and-by; but in the meanwhile our non-professional readers may not be displeased if we preface such description by a few general remarks explanatory of the nature of pontoon bridges in general, and of the manner in which they are prepared for the march, carried in the train of armies, and applied at the proper moment to their proper uses.

A pontoon bridge, then, is a road laid across or upon a river, of which the gangway is composed of planks, and the piers of buoyant vessels, fabricated after some approved model. Its constituent parts are the vessels in question, called pontoons,

saddles, balks, chesses, and half-chesses. There are required to fix and manage it, saddle-lashings, rack-sticks, rack-lashings, breast-lines, outriggers, oars, boat-hooks, buoys, buoy-lines, anchors, cables, body-lashings, carriage-lashings. All these materials are packed and carried about in waggons, so constructed as to receive their respective loads neatly, and to keep them while on the march secure. The numbers of waggons required in the team vary according to the extent of the bridge, and the manner in which its parts are distributed. But whatever the form of these parts may be, and however different the usages of each particular service in their distribution, they are all subject to one common contingency,—there must be carriages, horses, and men set apart specially for their transport, otherwise their presence will operate as an incumbrance rather than as a convenience to an army.

Of the pontoon—the foundation, so to speak, of the bridge—it may suffice, at this early stage of our inquiry, to say that whatever be its shape, and the material of which it is formed, it is valuable in proportion as it unites in itself the various qualities of buoyancy, lightness, convenience of stowage, steadiness in the water, and applicability to purposes of navigation.

The saddle is a frame of fir timber, which, being placed centrally on the axis of a pontoon, is secured to it by lashings, and receives the ends of the balks.

The balks are small beams of fir, which rest on the saddles, and are secured in their places by iron bolts. They serve in the bridge the same purpose which joists do in house-building. They extend from one pontoon to another, and support the flooring or platform.

This flooring, or platform, is constructed with chesses, and half-chesses. The former consist of three fir planks a-piece, bound together in their breadth by four cleats, which fasten underneath; the latter are single planks, which, when the bridge is completed lie over the saddles, and can without difficulty be removed, whenever it becomes necessary to get at the pins or bolts which pass through the balks and keep them in their places.

With respect to the rest of the articles enumerated as belonging to the equipment of a pontoon bridge, their names, we presume, sufficiently set forth the purposes which they are intended to serve. Lashings of every kind, rack or twisting-sticks, anchors, buoys, cables, boat-hooks,—these are implements with which our readers cannot but be familiar. If they desire to know exactly how and under what circumstances each is used, the best thing we can do for them is to advise, that

they go down to Woolwich or to Chatham the first time a bridge is laid, and watch the process.

Though there are no positive limits to the extent of a pontoon bridge, the best authorities seem to be agreed that it is not desirable to aim at more than a span of 170 or 180 yards. The waggons necessary for the transport of such a bridge, are in our service about twenty; in the French service, and in that of other foreign Powers, the number would be greater or less, according to the shape of the pontoons. But, whatever their numbers, the waggons take a position on the line of march corresponding to the probable exigencies of the service. If the army be advancing, and there are no rivers near, the pontoon train will move in rear of one of the columns. If the army be retreating, it will be pushed on a-head, under a sufficient escort. In the latter case, the duties of the commandant of the train are obvious enough. He marches on till he arrives at the spot indicated for the construction of a bridge. He there lays the bridge down, and as soon as the rear-guard is across, he gathers in his materials again, packs them up, and sets off at the utmost speed of which his animals are capable. In the former cases there is much more to be thought about.

An army on the advance may be assumed to be moving, either against another army which is moving towards it,—or in pursuit of an enemy who is seeking to avoid it, and is therefore anxious to throw as many impediments as possible in the way of the pursuer. Whichever idea be taken up, the operations of the pontoniers must remain pretty much the same; for the retreating army will not, it is probable, leave its own side of the river unguarded, and the army which is prepared to deliver or to accept a battle, is sure to watch well against a surprise. Here then are the two armies, coming, so to speak, into presence, but with a river between. It is, in every respect, suitable to pontooning purposes; that is to say, it is not too broad, it is not too rapid, there is ample depth of water, the banks are level, and a clear sky, which has canopied both hosts for a week or a fortnight back, assures them against any sudden or violent freshes. One general or the other is eager to strike a blow. He therefore manœuvres so as to distract the attention of the enemy, and he gives orders that at a certain point, and at a certain time, the river shall be bridged. How are these orders executed?

If the ladies and gentlemen who took such a laudable interest in the operations of the Chobham camp are to believe their eyes, nothing can be more easy or more beautiful than the process of pontooning. They saw a number of queer-

looking implements — which have been compared, not inaptly, to huge Bologna sausages, collected they could not tell how or whence — on the margin of Virginia Water. Suddenly, a body of sappers and miners seized upon the sausages, and conveying them by hand—for they were wonderfully light—into shallow water, began to construct upon them, with equal rapidity and skill, solid-looking rafts. Two saddles were lashed on each pontoon; barks, measuring about thirteen feet in length, were passed from one saddle to another. Chasses were laid down and made fast under these barks—and away went the raft triumphantly into deep water. Meanwhile a second and a third, constructed in like manner, followed in the same direction, till by and bye—with the help of a line, previously drawn across (how it got into its position nobody could guess), the necessary number of rafts were launched, anchored, and made fast at both ends,—and lo the bridge was completed! Forthwith bodies of riflemen dashed across. Then came columns of foot and of horse—and by and bye guns. The bridge rocked and swayed terribly. Some of the horses shyed—some fell into the water. But on the occasion to which we now particularly refer, no life was lost of man or beast; the whole got across. Things did not go quite so smoothly at the attack on Runnymede. A gun slipped from the bridge, dragging its team and a dozen men along with it. But the catastrophe made no very deep impression. All the gunners were fished out—and of the artillery horses only two were drowned. The spectators went away convinced, that with such a train, and such men to lay it, a British army could go any where, and do any thing.

We confess that, though much grieving for the fate of these two noble animals, we were not upon the whole sorry that the accident occurred. It tested the capacity of a set of pontoons, which, on what authority we are unable to say, have superseded all others in the English service; and we are bound to declare that, according to our poor judgment, it condemned them utterly.^a The river was as smooth as a mill-pond. The fastenings of the bridge were perfect. Yet, no sooner was the platform loaded, than there occurred such a succession of violent gyrations, as no horse in high condition could be expected to endure. It seemed, too, that a very slight additional weight would have torn the barks from their places,—for every pontoon in its turn became so much immersed that the pressure of a few pounds more must have sunk it altogether. Now this is not the condition to which any pontoon bridge

ought to be reduced by the passage of a nine-pounder. Let us see to what the defect is to be attributed.

We have elsewhere observed, that pontoons become more or less valuable in proportion as they unite in themselves the qualities of buoyancy, steadiness in the water, aptitude to purposes of navigation, and facility of transport. Forty or fifty years ago the pontoons in our service possessed all these qualities except the last, though none perhaps to the full extent that is attainable. They were very heavy, and in shape resembled large river punts. They consisted of solid frames of wood covered with sheets of copper; and each weighed, with its appurtenances and the carriage used to transport it, 35 cwt. They were, like other punts, undecked, and therefore liable, of course, to be filled should a turbulent stream break violently over them, or the strain on their buoyancy prove excessive; and when such an accident occurred to more than one or two in the whole length of the bridge, there was no possibility of repairing the damage except by breaking up the bridge entirely. This last defect, though a grave one, was attributable, be it observed, rather to the system of management than to the principle on which the pontoon was constructed. It showed that we had not then arrived at such skill in mechanics as could enable us to meet all emergencies; it furnished no proof that the form of the pontoon was radically defective. And with respect to the hazard of submersion, that is a risk from which no open pontoon bridge can be rendered absolutely free, though a skilful adaptation of pump machinery may greatly modify it. We acknowledge, however, that the pontoons which we are now describing laboured under some disqualifications. They were unnecessarily cumbrous in transport and difficult to handle in the water; but to compensate for this they proved marvellously steady when laid down. The undulations visible in them during the passage of men, horses, and carriages were next to nothing.

There was a natural desire in many quarters to improve upon these pontoons; and in 1814 Colonel Sir James Colleton produced vessels cylindrical in shape and having long conical ends wherewith to cast off the water in its descent. As they were made up of wooden staves put together like the staves of a cask and girt about with iron hoops, they got the name of buoy pontoons, which continued to be applied to them after their inventor had substituted copper for timber except in the framework. From some imperfection in the manner of arranging them in the water, they were not found to answer; and Sir Charles Pasley, then a colonel of engineers, took the subject up. He brought forward a pantoon shaped like a boat,

with a deck and two prows, of which the frame consisted of wood, and the exterior covering of sheet copper. For the sake of portability, he so constructed his boat that it could be divided transversely into equal parts, which, by means of lashings, were brought together at the water's edge, and became an entire and water-tight vessel. We believe that Sir Charles Pasley's pontoons are still used by the army of the East India Company; at home they have given place to the Bologna sausages already referred to, of which Colonel Blanchard, of the Royal Engineers, has the merit of being the inventor. These are composed entirely of tin, though copper would do quite as well, except for the circumstance that it is much more costly. We must describe one.

There are two kinds of pontoons in the arsenal at Woolwich—one intended for the general use of an army, the other supposed to be available for an advanced guard, or a flying corps which shall consist only of infantry, and the lightest species of field gun. Both are constructed on the same principle. They consist of sheets of tin—of the quality known in trade as XXX.—which are wound round a series of light tin wheels, of which the spokes are tin tubes measuring one inch in diameter. Through these wheels, and extending from one extremity of the pontoon to the other, runs a general axis, namely, a long hollow tin tube, having a diameter of $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The pontoons, whether large or small, are cylinders with paraboloidal ends. They measure, respectively, the larger pontoon 24 feet 6 inches in length, including the paraboloidal ends, by 2 feet 8 inches in diameter; the smaller, 14 feet 10 inches, by 1 foot 7 inches in diameter. Vessels constructed on this principle and of these materials, cannot be otherwise than buoyant. The larger pontoon, when placed in the water, without superstructure of any sort, sinks to the depth of $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the smaller, dealt with in the same way, sinks about $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches only. But taken singly they are alike useless; for such is the unsteadiness of all floating substances of which the shape is cylindrical or globular, that the smallest weight imposed upon its upper face causes it immediately to topple over. The pontoons adopted by us, therefore, are never launched except by pairs; in other words, the first thing done on reaching the bank of the river, is to construct a series of rafts, which one after another are sheered out into deep water. A word or two on this part of the subject is necessary to a right understanding of all that is to follow.

We have spoken above about the method by which pontoon bridges are made to accompany armies on their marches. Other Powers, for reasons hereafter to be stated, convey one pon-

toon, complete in its appurtenances, upon one waggon. We so construct our waggons, or are supposed so to construct them, as that each shall carry two pontoons, with all other things necessary for the completion of a raft. There thus go together:—

Pontoons	-	-	-	2	Out-riggers	-	-	2
Saddles	-	-	-	2	Oars	-	-	7
Balks	-	-	-	12	Boat-hook	-	-	1
Chesses	-	-	-	10	Buoy	-	-	1
Half-chesses	-	-	-	4	Buoy-line	-	-	1
Saddle-lashings	-	-	-	4	Anchor	-	-	1
Rack-sticks	-	-	-	8	Cable	-	-	1
Rack-lashings	-	-	-	8	Body-lashings	-	-	3
Breast-lines	-	-	-	2	Carriage-lashings	-	-	4

The order of packing is this. First come the balks, arranged on the bottom of the carriage, in the centre of bolsters which are cut to receive them, and with which, when all are in their proper places, the tops of the balks become level. Above the balks are piled the chesses, above the chesses the saddles; the cable is coiled and stowed between the saddles. Upon the saddles rest the pontoons; the space between the under sides of the pontoons, and just above the cable, is filled up by the oars. Webbed girths are then passed over the pontoons, which being fastened down to the carriage keep the load steady. Meanwhile, all the working articles, such as rack-sticks, rack-lashings, &c. are stowed away in the carriage box; and, finally, the anchor and buoy are securely fastened to the perch.

The order of unpacking is, of course, an exact opposite to the above. As soon as the waggon reaches the point beyond which it is deemed inexpedient to drive it, the party in charge proceeds to unship the various articles that are piled in and about it. All are numbered—each set has its appointed men to lift it—and every thing is thus brought rapidly and without confusion into a working state. The pontoons, which are provided with four rows of sunken handles a-piece, at intervals of 2 feet 1 inch round the circumference, are conveyed by hand to the water's edge. Two saddles are lashed to each; the balks are fastened upon the saddles; the chesses cleated down to the balks; the oars, boat-hook, anchor, buoy, rack-sticks, and lashings of every description shipped, and we have a raft complete. There is now something available to manage: what are its capabilities?

Two of our larger pontoons formed into a raft, sink immediately to the depth of $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Two small pontoons similarly managed sink $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Their weights appear to be—that of

the large raft, 2,495 lbs.; that of the smaller, $513\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. This lays upon each pontoon, including its own weight, a burden of $1,247\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. in the former case, and $256\frac{5}{8}$ lbs. in the latter. But when the rafts are united so as to form a bridge, each pontoon has to support the weight of half the superstructure on either side of it; in other words, the large pontoon then carries 1,847 lbs., the small, 314 lbs. The immersion is, consequently, carried to $9\frac{1}{2}$ and $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches respectively, before any other substance than the materials required to complete the bridge rests upon the pontoons. But the water displaced by the large pontoon when wholly immersed, is, as near as possible, 7,675 lbs. Take away the weight of the pontoon with that of the superstructure which rests upon it, namely, 1,847 lbs. from this amount, and you have an available buoyancy of not more than 5,428 lbs.

Pontoons of the larger sort are usually laid at intervals of thirteen feet from centre to centre. But we must allow Sir Howard Douglas to carry forward the argument.

‘The water displaced,’ he says, ‘by one of Colonel Blanchard’s large pontoons, when wholly immersed, being 7,675 lbs., and the weight of one pontoon, with the part of the superstructure which rests upon it, being 1,847 lbs., there remain 5,428 lbs., which may be placed on the bridge within the extent which is supported on one pontoon (half a bay on each side), that is 13 ft. when the pontoons are placed at the usual open order, or 13 ft. from centre to centre. Then, assuming that a man in marching order weighs 180 lbs., it follows that 32 men, or 8 ranks marching on a front of 4 men, are all that should be allowed for to every 13 ft. in the length of the bridge; and with this number the upper surfaces of the pontoons will be on a level with the surface of the water.’

‘In passing a pontoon bridge cavalry can only march by double files, and as each horse takes up about 9 ft. in length, 4 horses could scarcely stand within the space which rests on one pontoon. Now estimating the weight of a horse at 9 cwt. or 1,008 lbs., and that of the soldier, with his arms, baggage, and appurtenances, at 308 lbs., the weight of four horses, with their riders, will be 5,264 lbs.; to this adding 1,847 lbs. for the pontoon and superstructure, the weight is 7,111 lbs. In the table it will be seen that this weight would sink a pontoon to the depth of $26\frac{1}{2}$ inches!’

‘The weight of a 9 pounder gun with its carriage and limber is 4,159 lbs., and this weight is supported on the bearing points of the four wheels. Now, supposing the axles of the wheels of the gun and limber to be 9 ft. asunder, while the centre of gravity is about 1 foot from the axle of the gun-wheels towards the limber, it follows that 3,697 lbs. are supported by the wheels of the gun-carriage. Then when the wheels are over a pontoon, that pontoon will have to support, including its own weight and that of the superstructure, 5,544 lbs.; and from the table it appears that the pontoon would be immersed about $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches, while the gun is passing over it.’

It appears from this description, first, that for purposes of navigation, Colonel Blanchard's pontoons are of very little value, because nobody, we presume, will contend, that it is possible to row a raft, no matter of what material composed, with its square front and broad surface, rapidly across a stream; and next, that in point of buoyancy it barely suffices to sustain the weight of 32 infantry, 4 armed horsemen, and one 9 pounder gun *in transitu*. It is manifest, also, that its capability of sustaining even this burden depends entirely upon the good order that is preserved in the column while it passes. The smallest pressure of the rear ranks on the front, — the slightest undue acceleration of pace in the cavalry or artillery, — neglect on the part of the infantry to omit keeping step, — any one of these accidents, which in the hurry of actual warfare is not unlikely to occur, may be attended with fatal consequences. And even under the most favourable circumstances, we appeal to all who witnessed the passage of the Thames, and its results, whether the general unsteadiness of the bridge was not excessive.

But perhaps in their extraordinary facility of transport Colonel Blanchard's pontoons present a feature, which more than compensates for their shortcomings in every other respect. We are afraid not. Unquestionably a tin cylinder measuring 24 ft. 6 in. in length, with a diameter of only 2 ft. 8 in., is more portable, with the hand, than any trapezoidal or boat-shaped vessel which it would be possible to apply to pontooning purposes. The largest of Colonel Blanchard's pontoons weighs only 565 lbs., whereas the vessel used for similar purposes in the French army weighs upwards of 1,600 lbs. But the question assumes another shape when we come to consider their relative capabilities of package, and consequently of conveyance from one place to another. With a trapezoidal or boat-shaped pontoon, the whole of the interior space is available. Whether on board of ship or in a waggon, all the materials necessary for converting it into a half-raft may be stowed between the gun-wales. With a cylinder, the interior space is lost, and the pontoon itself, as well because of its delicacy as of its conformation, must have ample room in the stowage. We suspect, therefore, that when the experiment comes to be fairly tried, it will be found that our lighter vessels render necessary for their transport more tonnage on ship-board, and a greater strength of waggons on shore, than any other bridge train in the world. But this is not all: our cylindrical pontoons have never yet been used in the presence of an enemy vigilant in watching his own side of the river, and determined to keep it. Are they fit for such

work? We will take the liberty of describing not the parade passage of Virginia Water or the Thames, but the method which is actually adopted when armies meet to fight and not to play; and then, perhaps, our readers will be able to draw for themselves a tolerably correct conclusion on that subject.

We defy any engineer in the world to lay a pontoon-bridge in the presence of an enemy who is master of the opposite bank of a river and has any shelter at all of wood or broken ground to cover him. Before a single raft is constructed, far more launched, light troops must have made good their passage to the other side, and woods and rocks will probably be ringing with the sharp echoes of their skirmishing fire. Now, there is no method of putting light troops across a deep river except one: they must be ferried over; and in order to accomplish this, we must have at our disposal vessels a great deal more ship-shape than either tin cylinders or rafts measuring 13 feet by 8 or 9. Our cylindrical bridge equipment, however, either does not provide such vessels at all, or it contemplates a supplemental train of common row-boats which has not yet been shown to an inquiring public, and which will of course demand a considerable augmentation of waggons, horses, and drivers to convey it. The French manage things differently. After repeated experiments they have come to the conclusion, that, all points considered, there is no pontoon so available for the varied purposes of a campaign as the flat-bottomed open vessel, which was adopted into their service in 1829. They argue that it is not wise to depend, for your first step in bridge-making, either upon the chances of finding country boats when you want them, or on a supply which must of necessity be limited if it be regarded as supplemental only. They have therefore determined that no pontoons shall accompany their armies which do not fulfil the following conditions:—1st. Their capacity and solidity must be such as that a bridge formed of them may be able to support the greatest weights which usually accompany armies, and that the weight of the bateau be as slight as is consistent with this condition. 2nd. They must answer well as row-boats in case it should be necessary to use the bateaux as such in passing rivers by main force, or in establishing lodgments. 3rd. Their form and dimensions must be such as to admit of their being easily mounted on carriages and transported without difficulty from place to place.

We are inclined to think that our neighbours argue on good grounds: we are sure that, if the grounds of their argument be admitted, their method of acting up to it is excellent. A French pontoon is made entirely of wood; the frame-work is of oak;

the bottom and sides are covered with fir-planks. It is flat-bottomed. The sides are nearly vertical; the breadth diminishes towards the head and stern,—though the latter is wider than the former. The two ends or prows, which rise above the level of the tops of the gunwales, are curved like those of a canoe. In length the vessel measures 31 feet; the breadth of the body at the top is 5 feet 7 inches, at the bottom, 4 feet 4 inches; the breadth of the upper extremity of the front prow is 2 feet 5 inches, of the after prow, 4 feet 7 inches; the height of the body is 2 feet $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Such a vessel may obviously be applied to every purpose in effecting the passage of a river; it is especially useful in the attainment of that without which all other attempts can hardly fail to miscarry.

When the passage of a river is to be made good, either by open violence or by stratagem, the pontoon-train halts behind some screen, as near as may be convenient to the bank of the river. One or more boats are immediately launched from the bank, full of armed men. These take on board with them a light line, coiled—the further end of which is made fast to a stout hawser—and instantly push off. If a picket of the enemy be posted on the opposite bank, a rattling musketry fire salutes them. This they disregard; though it will be answered, of course, from the bank which they are leaving,—provided the river be not too wide. But there is no firing from the boats. Stoutly the rowers ply their oars. Nobody speaks a word. It is for life or death that men are pulling, and their strokes are given regularly and heavily. They reach the bank, spring on shore with their muskets in their hands, and dash into the underwood. Some engage forthwith in the skirmish. The rest haul in the line till the end of the hawser comes home, which they make fast to the nearest tree. Now, then, a flying bridge is established; and backwards and forwards, to the tune of a sharp skirmish, the ferry-boat passes. Meanwhile, the pontoniers arrange their vessels on the further side, in agreement with the instructions which have been given to them. The French station theirs, fully laden, and at regular distances from one another, up the course of the river. At a given signal, all push out, and sweep consecutively round, like a battalion changing its front. Number one, to be sure, stands fast. It is in its proper place already, with its gear on board and its stern to the stream. It is in a state also for giving and receiving balks and chesses with number two, as soon as number two shall have wheeled into its station. Number three succeeds, then number four, and so on,—each shooting out its balks to those on either flank of it, and receiving and making fast

balks delivered by them in return. In half the time that is required for preparing, launching, connecting and sheering off our cylinders and rafts, this bridge of bateaux is complete. For every bateau steers upon the allignment of the hawser, and each, while doing so, drops its anchor in sufficient time for the crew to pull up exactly where it is intended that the boat should remain.

Compare this with the process which cannot be dispensed with in our service.

We assume that, by means of row-boats, provided expressly for the purpose, our people have made their lodgment on the enemy's bank. They fix their hawser and establish a flying bridge. What follows? While reinforcements are carried over to this forlorn hope by dribblets, their friends on the far bank apply themselves diligently to construct a dozen rafts, and to sheer them off in succession. It took full twenty minutes to complete and connect that number in Virginia Water the other day. The process is not likely to be accelerated, if a brave and active enemy, alarmed by the sound of firing, hastens to support his pickets with artillery, as well as with infantry. Now, in operations of this sort time is everything. A hundred, sixty, even fifty brave men, will hold their ground against any odds for five or six minutes. But if these five or six minutes be prolonged to fifteen or twenty, or more, their resistance will be overpowered. Nor must it be forgotten that no use whatever can be made of the pontoons till they are constructed into rafts, and the rafts lashed together. Wherefore, unless our train be most inconveniently large, it is impossible that we can have at our disposal more than three or four small row-boats at the utmost. We may succeed, with these, in landing perhaps fifty men on the enemy's bank. But we cannot, by rowing, carry more. Our floating bridge will not carry above twenty* at a trip; the enemy, on the other hand, get up their reinforcements by battalions. What can the valour and devotion of sixty or eighty men do, to protract the fight till the tedious process of sheering off rafts is completed? Observe how differently a French officer is circumstanced in every respect. If he see reason to anticipate a warm resistance at first, he has the means at his disposal of launching a flotilla capable of transporting from three to five hundred men at a trip. And the movement will scarcely retard the construction of his bridge at all, because his boats become pontoons by mere change of position, as soon as they discharge their living cargoes.

Again, the French bridge, when laid, is in every respect

stronger, safer, and more easily protected than ours. It is more easily protected, because the piers of a French bridge lie 19 feet 8 inches apart, whereas ours are separated by 13 feet only. And many a destructive substance will glide harmless through an opening of 19 feet, for which 13 would be too narrow. It is safer, first, because, in respect to buoyancy, it carries more than twice the weight which ours can sustain; next, because the gangway is wider. And it is stronger, for this among other reasons, that its superior solidity prevents that excessive heaving up and down which is perceptible in our bridges, and which necessarily occasions a severe strain on the balks and their fastenings. Finally, should it happen that both pontoons are sunk so far in a shallow river, as not only to touch the bottom, but to press upon it, the bateau, strong in its oaken frame-work, will take no hurt, whereas the tin cylinder is crushed to pieces and destroyed. Whercin, then, lies the superiority, if such there be, of the cylinder over the trapezoidal-shaped vessel? In its positive lightness, and consequent portability? This does not necessarily follow; for, as has elsewhere been explained, what the cylinder gains in positive lightness, it loses in difficulty of stowage. And when we further consider, that each bateau suffices to span 19 feet of water, whereas the utmost stretch of a cylinder is across 13 feet, the greater number required of this latter vessel, though it may not quite reach the standard of the other, will bring the burden on each side nearer to an equality than may at first sight appear. Besides

‘It is essential to the stability of floating bodies,’ says Sir Howard, ‘that their bearing should increase with the increase of their immersion vertically; that is, their horizontal sections should expand up to the plane of floatation, or horizontal surface of the fluid in which the vessel floats. In cylindrical vessels this only takes place up to the immersion of their horizontal diameter, after which—that is, after they are half immersed—the section coinciding with the plane of floatation diminishes; and the nearer the vessel approaches to entire immersion, its descent in the water becomes greater and greater with every equal augmentation of load; that is, just the reverse of what it should be. The bearing of a vessel of trapezoidal or boat-like shape, increases up to the extreme power of floatation; and this has ever been considered the grand desideratum in determining the configuration, and providing for the stability of floating bodies.’

But the French pontoons are open; ours are inclosed. A sudden fresh, an extra pressure upon the platform, may fill some or the whole of the former with water; and then what will become of the bridge? whereas ours can suffer, at the worst, no

more than a momentary immersion — it never can be waterlogged. Withdraw the cause, and it rights itself immediately.

Perhaps so; but observe what the difference is between the floatation powers of the two bridges. A pressure of 7,675 pounds avoirdupoise will sink a bridge supported on cylindrical pontoons entirely; a bridge supported upon such bateaux as are used in the French service is sunk to the tops of the gunwales only after 18,674½ pounds have been imposed upon it. Both are useless so long as they are under water. But besides that the French bridge can successfully resist twice as much pressure as our own, the pump-machinery carried about with it must be much more defective than we take it to be, if against freshes, whether sudden or anticipated, it fail to provide a sufficient remedy. For these reasons, and for many more which we cannot find space or time to enumerate, it really does appear to us, that in adopting Colonel Blanchard's pontoon to the exclusion of all others, the military authorities of this country have acted somewhat rashly. We do not say that Colonel Blanchard's pontoon is not a very excellent vessel of its kind; it may perhaps turn out, after all, to deserve the place of merit which has been assigned to it; but as yet we are far from being satisfied of the fact, and we know that our neighbours on the farther side of the Channel deny it to be a fact at all. So, at least, we gather from the observations of Marshal Vaillant, himself an officer of great merit and experience, and brought up especially in this branch of the service.

'Les plus grands inconvénients,' he says, 'des pontons cylindriques nous paraissent être d'exiger de longues voitures pour leur transport, et de ne pas pouvoir les conduire à la rame; ce qui ne permet pas non plus de les employer comme les pontons ordinaires ou les bateaux, pour faire passer brusquement quelque corps d'infanterie d'un bord d'une rivière à l'autre. Dans les pays où les transports par voitures sont très-difficiles et où l'une ne peut espérer de rencontrer des bateaux ou d'autres moyens de passage, il est indispensable de mener avec soi le matériel nécessaire à l'établissement de quelques ponts; mais en pareil cas, ce qu'il y a de mieux à faire c'est de transporter à dos de mulet quelques chevaux légers ou des caisses. * * * Toutes les fois qu'on pourra se servir de voitures nous croyons qu'au lieu de les employer au transport de pontons cylindriques, il sera préférable de leur faire porter quelques pontons ordinaires ou quelques bateaux.'

The criticism of an able writer in '*Le Guide du Pontonnier*' is not less decisive:— '*Le pont de tonneaux Anglais nous paraît donc être une invention assez ingénieux mais sans utilité.*

‘Préferons à ces radeaux composés les bateaux légers que franchiront avec rapidité les plus grands fleuves et braveront sous les ponts les efforts des courans les plus violens.’

Before passing on to another part of our subject, we think it right to mention, that some time ago an idea was entertained that pontoons, made with a preparation of caoutchouc or Indian rubber, might be advantageously introduced into our service. We believe that such pontoons are the invention of an officer of engineers in the service of the United States of America; at least we do not remember to have heard of them till 1836, when Captain, now Colonel Lane, of the United States army, threw an experimental bridge across a river in Alabama, which measured 350 feet in length, and was supported upon sixteen such pontoons. The pontoons, it appears, were made of strong canvass, coated with caoutchouc. But by whomsoever invented, the Americans still profess to think highly of them. In 1839, a Board of Officers assembled at New York to observe and report upon certain experiments which a Mr. Armstrong undertook to conduct; and it must be admitted that the results, as far as the Board has described them, were satisfactory. Mr. Armstrong, it seems, formed his floating piers out of three cylinders respectively, each cylinder being composed of two layers of strong canvass, saturated with caoutchouc, and thereby rendered impervious to water. The cylinders were 18 feet long, and, when inflated, 18 inches in diameter; a slip of the same material held them together, and their united weight was only 117 lbs. One of these piers, without a platform, supported fifteen men, and was rowed about with perfect ease; two, placed side by side, and provided with a platform, 18 feet long, and 9 feet wide, carried a six-pounder on a field-carriage unlimbered, and with fifty men surrounding the gun, was moved without difficulty in the water. When two men only remained on the raft, the gun was repeatedly fired, with and without shot, yet no derangement whatever occurred in the apparatus. The extreme portability of vessels so composed, will at once occur to the mind of the uninitiated as an argument in their favour. And it is not without plausibility; for the three cylinders here spoken of, when folded for the purpose of removal, were all packed in a single box, measuring 3 feet in length, 18 inches in breadth, and 2 feet in depth. But, shape them as you will, pontoons made of Indian rubber or any other frayable substance, lie open to objections which cannot be got rid of. The slightest friction on gravel, or any other rough substance, must be fatal to them; for the moment they cease to be airtight, they cease to be valuable. We believe that the only

British officer of note on whom they made a lasting impression; was Sir Harry Smith. But, though he carried some of them with him to the Cape of Good Hope, on the occasion of his assumption of the government there, we never heard that he found them of use, except as the framework of a raft. He certainly did not try to construct bridges with them; and we are not of opinion that any body else will seriously think of resorting to them, for keeping up his communication or facilitating the advance of his columns in a campaign.

We now approach another matter intimately connected with the discussion into which Sir Howard Douglas has led us, on which there can, we should think, be no difference of opinion. At whatever conclusions we may arrive in regard to the comparative merits of cylindrical and trapezoidal pontoons, we must all, as it appears to us, be agreed in the judgment to be passed on the actual condition of the bridge train now in the English service. In point of fact it has no existence. We possess a few pontoons, no doubt, with balks, chesses, &c. sufficient to throw a bridge over a narrow piece of water, and the labour of a few days would give us as many more as we can require. But there are neither carriages in which to pack these pontoons, nor horses to draw such carriages, nor men instructed to look after both horses and carriages, to guide them on their march, and apply the contents of the latter to their proper uses at the proper time. The materials of the bridge which so much delighted ladies and gentlemen, first at Virginia Water, and next upon the Thames, were brought up from Woolwich in common country carts, to which the Artillery lent both horses and drivers. The first relay dragged them on as far, we believe, as Staines; the second, supplied by the batteries in camp, met the train there, and transported it to the water side. And when the bridge arrived, it was Sappers and Miners, under the direction of officers of the Royal Engineers, who converted pontoons into rafts, and laid them down for the troops to pass over.

Now we put it to the common sense of every man not a member of the Peace Society, whether this is a state of things which ought to be. It is admitted that there is no making war—to any good purpose, whether offensively or defensively—without ready means of passing rivers—in advance and in retreat. It is equally certain that your operations will lead to no satisfactory results if at the critical moment it be necessary to withdraw the horses from your guns, and men instructed to become directors in the fortification of your position, be called away to discharge duties entirely extraneous to the objects for which they were enlisted. Yet to these shifts we are driven even

in a camp of instruction. We have no waggons, no horses, no drivers appointed to take care of our bridge-train; and of trained pontoniers we are wholly destitute. Let us not be misunderstood in regard to the latter point. The Sappers and Miners, directed by officers of Engineers, laid the bridges on Virginia Water and the Thames admirably. This did not surprise us, for we honestly believe that there is no sort of work, above ground or below—on the land or in the water, which our Engineer officers, with their noble Sappers near them, will not manage, somehow or another, to execute, if it be required at their hands. And we are further satisfied, that it is a wise thing to instruct them in all the details of military bridge-making, of which, indeed, no officer, either of the infantry or of the cavalry, ought in our opinion to be quite ignorant. But it is because we think thus highly of them, because we know their value, and have a true perception of the duties, important and multifarious, which they will be called upon to discharge in war, that we protest against laying upon them the additional responsibility, which our present system or absence of system has created. We want what all other countries have—a corps of pontoniers,—with horses, carriages, and equipments of every sort complete; and we miss them the more that we once had a body of military artificers fully equal to any demand that could be made upon them, under the designation of the Staff Corps. Why was that useful corps disbanded? Their services during the war in the Peninsula and South of France will never be forgotten; it was a mistaken economy,—long resisted, we believe, by the late illustrious Commander-in-Chief,—which got rid of them. We have heard that a committee of Ordnance officers has been directed to inquire into this important matter, and report upon it. We trust that the rumour is well founded; and we further hope that when the Board meets, Sir Howard Douglas, among others, will be invited to give an opinion as to what is really wanted to render our bridge equipments available. Meanwhile, we learn from his valuable work, that the establishment of the Pontooner Corps in the service of France, as it was settled by the ordonnance of 5th August, 1829, is for war, 1587 men and 140 horses, and for peace, 918 men.

Pontoon-trains are without doubt essential to the efficiency of armies. It will not do, however, to trust to them exclusively: because, in the first place, all rivers do not admit of being bridged by pontoons; and, in the next place, pontoon bridges ought never to be used as permanent roads of communication. For the same reasons the drill of pontoneers is quite inadequate if it enable them to lay pontoon-bridges and

none others. Broad rivers, of which the stream is very rapid, such as the Danube below Pesth, the Rhine opposite Cologne, the Mississippi near New Orleans, do not admit of pontoon-bridges. The same thing may be said of tidal rivers, when the rise and fall is great. Precipitous banks, rocky and uneven channels, peculiar liability to freshes, present insuperable obstacles to the operation. Neither is it possible to provide for large armies a pontoon train sufficiently extensive to meet all the possible exigencies of a campaign. A general may find it necessary to move upon three or four lines simultaneously; he may be headed upon all or most of them by deep rivers. It would require a more extensive equipment than is compatible with the efficiency of an army in other respects to place at his disposal pontoons enough for bridging the whole of them. A general may be compelled at once to form a siege and to cover it with a field force which must have everything complete within itself. If the besieged place lie upon a river, the river must be bridged, without, however, crippling the field force by depriving it of its bridge equipment; and finally, between the army and its base of operations several lines of rivers may lie, over each of which one or more bridges must be thrown, provided there be no standing bridges, or that these have been broken down. How are these exigencies provided for?

The various expedients to which the leaders of armies are driven when either or all of the contingencies here enumerated encounter them, may be classed under five heads. They can meet their difficulties, 1st, with bridges of boats and bateaux; 2nd, with flying bridges; 3rd, with bridges laid on rafts of timber, on casks, or air-tight cases or inflated skins; 4th, with bridges on tressels or piles and on carriages; and 5th and last, with trussed or with suspension bridges. It would require far more space than is at our disposal to describe, even in the most perfunctory manner, the process of construction which goes on in each of these cases; but a few words explanatory of the general purposes which they are respectively intended to serve may not be amiss, and it may be well to illustrate our statements by examples.

When a river is very broad and the current is rapid, or when the tidal movement is strong, a bridge of boats or of bateaux is always to be laid. The pontoons adopted in the French army may, indeed, be applied where our pontoons could not show themselves; but even the French, rather than trust to roads resting on field pontoons, would prefer spanning such a width as the Rhine at Cologne with vessels adapted to the ordinary commercial purposes of the country. Moreover the French keep

in their arsenals large bateaux, which are intended to be brought into use on such occasions. These measure in length 35 feet; they are $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide above, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet below. They weigh 5,250 pounds, and are formed with pinks head and stern. It was by these means, and by pressing into the service as many barges as he required, that Moreau, in the campaign of 1800, passed the Rhine in the face of an Austrian army from a point a little below Stein and opposite to the plain of Bebern. The circumstances were these:

Having determined to advance through Suabia by the right bank of the Danube, Moreau, notwithstanding that the Rhine was bridged at Basle, Brisach, and Kohl, manœuvred to throw a strong corps across that river near Lake Constance, and to turn thereby the Austrian positions between the Rhine and the Danube. His preparations were of the usual kind; that is to say, he made demonstrations with pontoons here and there, while the larger convoy, consisting, besides row-boats, of thirty-six bateaux d'arsenal from Strasbourg and thirty country boats, moved stealthily towards the real point of action. This had been previously reconnoitred, and all its features calculated by General Didon; and on the 30th of March all was ready. At ten o'clock the same night row-boats enough to transport 900 men arrived within 600 yards of the bank. The waggons halted there; for the ground was high, and the descent towards the water rough and precipitous. But the boats, being lifted by hand, were carried down the declivity, and ranged in two divisions in the water, and the pontoneers lay down behind them.

Night operations are proverbially insecure. There was delay in bringing forward the troops told off for the first passage,—and dawn coming on made apparent to the Austrians the peril to which they were exposed. A fire of musketry was immediately opened upon the boats, which extended in a few minutes along the whole line. The pontoneers saw that concealment was no longer to be thought of. They launched the boats. The French advanced guard came down, and, taking them on board, the boats pushed off. In spite of a stout resistance they made good their landing; and, covered by a heavy fire of artillery from the high grounds, of which the French were in possession, they soon effected a lodgment. Other boat-loads of troops followed; while the second division of pontoneers hastened to bridge the water, and the bridge took its place exactly where it was intended to be. Before nine o'clock on the morning of the 31st, the entire corps, consisting of three divisions, with a reserve of cavalry, was formed on the right bank of the Rhine,

But perhaps the most memorable case of bridging a wide

river with boats which has occurred in modern warfare, took place under the surveillance of our own illustrious Duke of Wellington. His bridge across the Adour met every one of the emergencies to which armies operating in front of broad or tidal rivers are liable. We shall allow Sir Howard Douglas to describe that remarkable structure, as well as to explain the difficulties of the enterprise.

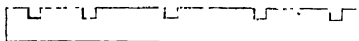
‘In large tide rivers, subject to heavy swells, it is very difficult to construct a bridge with a degree of flexibility suited to the motion of boats in such rivers, and to allow for the rise and fall of the tide. For rivers 600 or 700 feet wide it is often necessary to use very large boats, lighters or barges, or even vessels of such tonnage as to admit of intervals so large as to make it difficult to get timber sufficient to span them.*

‘The construction of a bridge across the Adour in 1814 presented these difficulties; when, upon the suggestion of Lieut.-Colonel Sturgeon, of the Staff Corps, assisted by Major Tod and other ~~side~~ men, the Duke of Wellington determined to use, instead of barks, cables stretched from bank to bank by tackles and capstans, and resting on the decks of vessels moored at the distance of 40 feet from centre to centre. Besides the other advantages of this expedient, it was justly considered that, in the event of the boom constructed above the bridge to protect it from the enemy’s fire vessels, being broken, the cables supporting the floor of the bridge might serve to protect the store-ships at anchor below.

‘In communication with a powerful squadron on the coast, his Grace arranged the construction of the bridge before any of our shipping entered the Adour.

Forty-eight chasse-marées† were taken up in the ports of St. Jean de Luz, Socoa, and Passages: these were collected at Socoa, and each was loaded with

48 three-inch planks, 9 inches wide and 12 feet long.
1 sleeper, 10 inches square, and notched thus:



2 hand-saws; 2 axes; and 2 skeins of hamber line, to lash the planks to the outside cables.

* ‘With ample means, it is astonishing to what extent these floating bridges may be carried. Amongst the bridges of the greatest celebrity may be named that which was established across the Dnieper in 1739. Although the river had overflowed and inundated two leagues of country, the Russians constructed a bridge of boats across the whole breadth.’ (*Handbuch der Pontonnier Wissenschaften*, 1ter band, seite 19.)

† ‘A chasse-marée is a species of coasting vessel used on the shores of the Bay of Biscay, of from 20 to 40 tons burden, and measuring, generally, about 50 feet in length on deck, and from 12 to 15 feet on the beam.’

‘Two men of the Sappers and Miners were put on board each vessel to level the waist-boards with the decks, so that the cables might be stretched across as soon as the vessels should be moored. The floor was supported by five cables, lashed in the notches of a sleeper placed fore and aft, on the deck of each vessel. Five cables, 13 inches in circumference each, and 120 fathoms long, were put on board the chasse-marées destined for the centre of the bridge, and so coiled that they could be handed up the hatchways, right and left, at the same time.

‘The river was bounded on both sides by perpendicular stone walls 14 feet high, and an equal thickness. That on the left bank was backed behind by sand, level to its surface; while the ground behind the wall on the right bank was 12 feet lower than the top of the masonry, and covered at high tide by 7 feet water. The rise of the tide, at springs, was 14 feet.

‘On the right bank, the end of each cable was fastened to an iron 18-pounder, which was thrown over the wall. Those parts of the cables which rested on the masonry were *served* with green ullock hides, to prevent rubbing. On the left bank they were stretched by capstans and gyn tackles, fixed to a frame of timber laid on the sand behind the wall, 3 feet lower than the top of the masonry and loaded, in the rear, with sandbags, B, B, to prevent it from tilting upwards.*

‘A boom was prepared at the same time, under the direction and with the assistance of Admiral Penrose, for the protection of this bridge. It consisted of masts of from 50 to 100 feet in length, and 1 to 2 feet in diameter, the strongest placed in the front line. These were anchored, each individually, by the centre; those in the first line being up the river stream, and those in the rear line having their anchors down the stream to meet the flood tide. The masts in the first line were placed 20 feet asunder, and connected with chains, as well with each other as with those in the rear line; the masts in the one line covering the intervals in the other. These lines were 24 feet asunder, and the chains allowed to

* ‘Up to that period the construction of a bridge across the Adour, at this part of the river, was considered quite impossible, on account of the constant agitation of the sea in this channel; but a circumstance particularly favourable to the establishment of this bridge existed at the commencement of 1814, namely, the oblique position of the channel, at that time, with respect to the bar at its entrance. This channel, as far as the mouth of the Adour, had become nearly parallel to the coast, and the bar consequently acted as a kind of traverse or breakwater, and thereby diminished the agitation of the water in the river. The bridges constructed by the English remained stretched for more than two months, the passage was not for a moment interrupted, nor did the bridge receive any material injury from the gales which are so frequent in the Bay of Biscay, and which were extraordinarily violent during the spring of 1814.’ (*French Translator’s note.*)

hang slack, so as to be about 12 feet below the surface of the water. Two strong 13-inch cables were stretched along the whole line of masts, and set as tight as possible, securing them, by lashings, to both ends of each mast. Four gun-boats were placed in advance of this boom, to assist in its protection; and on each bank of the river was placed a battery of three travelling 18-pounders; while light boats were constantly kept in readiness, with fire-grapplings, to meet and anchor anything that might be drifted down the stream, before it reached the boom; and during the night guard-boats, and boats of observation, were kept constantly rowing about.

Of the purposes served by a flying bridge, as well as of the principle on which it is worked, few readers of this paper are likely to be ignorant. It is neither more nor less than a raft, so made fast in a river as to secure the action of the stream obliquely, with a force sufficient to carry the vessel across from one side to the other. It may consist, likewise, of two boats, which shall move in different axes of the circle simultaneously,—or a cable passed over the river, with a running block attached, may serve as the guiding line; and manual strength or a common wheel supply the motive power. Since the application of steam to purposes of navigation, flying bridges have become rare in this country. But they are still, we believe, of common occurrence on the continent. We recollect two which used a year or two ago to ply on the Elbe; one near Pilsen, the other close to Schandau in the Saxon Switzerland.

For military purposes flying bridges may be described as supplemental rather than primary, in regard to their importance. Being easy of construction, they facilitate the arrival of supplies to the forlorn hope which may have previously crossed in row boats; and they come in, with excellent effect, in compensation of any damage which a bridge of boats may have sustained, and on the maintenance of which the safety of an army or of a detachment depends. This was strikingly exemplified at the passage of the Rhine in 1795 by General Jourdan at Neuwied, a little below Ehrenbreitstein. The passage of the river had been forced: a bridge of boats was laid. It had been protected against innumerable missiles sent down by the Austrians, and a portion of the army was across, when an accident befel which might have led to the most disastrous consequences. The French general, Kleber, had directed all the boats in the Sieg to be burned, as soon as it should be ascertained that the corps engaged in crossing the Rhine was safe. The orders were very carelessly executed. The boats were not only fired too soon, but were permitted to float in a burning state into the main river. They drifted against Jourdan's bridge, which instantly caught the flame, and was scarcely saved

from total destruction by the scuttling and sinking of some of its piers. Such a misfortune could not be repaired in a moment; and it was only by the hasty equipment of a flying bridge, and the sending over upon it of supports to the troops on the far side, that the latter managed, with hard fighting, to keep their ground.

The principle on which we construct a bridge on rafts, on casks, or inflated skins, is the same which guides us in the laying down of pontoon bridges and bridges of boats. We find or construct piers sufficiently buoyant to sustain the weight which it is proposed to lay upon them, and surmounting these with appropriate saddles, we arrange on them our balks and chesses, just as we should do were boats or pontoons there to support them. Rafts, casks, and inflated skins are, however, to be pressed into the service only when other and more obviously suitable means of passing a river are wanting. The materials for piers of rafts are found chiefly where wood is abundant; and there are some trees which prove more available for the purpose than others. Taking the specific gravity of water at 1,000 oz., it will be seen that while American pine varies from 402 to 632, oak weighs 750, heart of oak 1,170, larch 530, and English poplar only 383. This last, therefore, which no shipbuilder would touch, so long as other wood could be procured, is the best adapted of any for raft purposes; whereas heart of oak—the pride of our navy—must be classed in the same category with the box of Holland and of the Brazils, the pomegranate, the American ebony, and the vine. It cannot be used at all in the construction of piers for a floating bridge.

The materials of which we now speak are to be procured either by cutting down trees or taking possession of felled timber, or removing from barns or houses such beams as may appear to suit our purposes. There are, however, limits both to the size and to the cubic contents of such beams. Anything below 25 ft. in length, a mean girth of 30 in., and a content of 12·5 at the least, is too small to be serviceable. Anything beyond 35 ft. in length, with a mean girth of 78 in. and a content of 118·3, is too large to be removed with the appliances generally at our command, from the spot where it has been felled. We must refer the professional reader to Sir Howard Douglas's work for the rules by which he is to be guided in calculating the specific gravity of his materials, as well as for instructions how to convey them in every emergency to the point where they are wanted. But we should do injustice both to our author and to the important subject which he discusses, if we failed to transcribe the following sentences:—

'Bridges of rafts being in general only temporary expedients, resorted to upon sudden emergencies, the construction should be such as to effect the purpose with the least means consistent with safety; and this we are now to consider.

'A fir-tree of 4.33 feet mean girth, and 30 in length, contains 44.9 cubic feet, and will float 1128 lbs. Six of these will float 6768 lbs. Deduct the weight of 5 balks of oak, 4 inches wide, 6 inches deep, and 26 feet long; also the weight of 2-inch planks, sufficient for a floor 10 feet wide, and 12 long; in all about 1981 lbs.; and there will remain 4787 lbs. for the weight which each raft is capable of bearing. If the rafts are 12 feet distant from centre to centre, and the whole bridge covered with infantry filing across, each will have to sustain 12 men nearly; which, taken at 180 lbs. per man, is 2160 lbs., leaving 2627 lbs. for the remaining buoyancy of each raft.

'If the timber be well seasoned, and has not been long in the water, infantry may pass under a front of 4 men, ranks 30 inches from each other, by which each raft will have to bear 16 men (2880 lbs.); retaining a buoyancy, by calculation, of 1907 lbs. But, in general, the excess by calculation should be greater than this, to allow for loss* and deficiency† of buoyancy.

'The mean diameter of a tree whose mean girth is 4.33 feet, is 1.38 feet. A raft of 6 trees of this size will be 8.28 feet wide; and the interval between two rafts, placed 12 feet between centres, will be 3.72 feet; a space sufficient to allow a great part of the superficial current to pass.

'Cavalry may pass by twos, but intervals of 3 feet should be left; when each float will have to sustain about 2632 lbs., the weight of two men and their horses.

'The weight of a light six-pounder and limber, complete, with 4 horses and 2 drivers, is about 8000 lbs.; but as these cover about 34 feet in the march, they will always be sustained by 3 floats directly, and further supported by the adjoining two. Three floats could bear this weight, viz., 2667 lbs. each, as we have seen; but, to render the operation quite safe, intervals of 15 feet should be allowed between guns in crossing, in order that the weight may be borne by all the floats which are reached by the balks actually pressed upon.

'Heavy guns should be unlimbered, and drawn across by hand, with long ropes to keep the men at a distance from them. The weight of a 9-pounder gun and carriage is about 2856 lbs., which, being more concentrated than any of the other weights here considered, will be most severe upon the bridge.'

The following description of a bridge of this sort, constructed at a critical moment by a portion of that corps of which we

* 'By imbibing water.* If the ends are not tarred, dry timber will increase its weight one-sixth by two or three days' immersion.'

† 'By being full of sap when cut.'

hope ere long to see the revival, will interest the general reader: -

'In July, 1809, when Sir Arthur Wellesley's head-quarters were established at Placencia, it became necessary to secure the means by which a junction might be formed with Cuesta. Two companies of the Staff Corps were accordingly sent, with a strong working party, to Baragona, to make a bridge across the Tietar. This river, though deep only on one side at that part, is so wide as to have required 15 pontoons to form the bridge which the French constructed there some time before, and which, upon retiring to Talavera, they of course entirely destroyed.

'The officer sent to re-establish a communication across that river could find no other materials with which to effect this than the timber of a large inn and its outhouses, about a mile and a half distant, and some pine-trees that grew in a neighbouring wood. The building was therefore immediately unroofed, and timber of the following descriptions and dimensions procured from its demolition. Six beams of dry fir, each about 20 ft. long and 2 ft. square; three or four hundred rafters, about 10 ft. long, and 6 in. by 4, in section; six large doors; and 20 running feet of mangers from the stables. The six large beams were formed into a raft about 20 ft. long and 12 wide; the buoyancy of which was therefore about 13,500 lbs. The rafters formed the beams, and the planks of the mangers the floor. This raft had to support a floor about 30 ft. long, to which it was fully adequate; its extreme buoyancy being sufficient to float 60 or 70 men, exclusive of the weight of floor; and half of that buoyancy being not much more than was required for the weights that had to cross it. In the shallower parts of the section piles were driven into the bottom of the river, and caps of light material laid across: the beams were formed of young pine-trees, 30 ft. long, and about 7 inches in diameter. The doors and mangers of the inn, being too thick for the only nails that were forthcoming, were secured to the beams by ribands formed of young pines split thus \ominus , which were laid over the ends of the planks, and tied, with willow twigs, to the outside beams and to the caps of the piles. The raft was made fast to a sheer-line, attached to a tree on one side of the river, and to a stake driven into the sand on the other. A trestle, and two large wooden mallets, made on the spot, were used to set and drive the piles. On the 18th of July the army crossed the Tietar by this bridge, and by Miajados marched to Jalayuela.'

The fitness of casks for bridge purposes, as well as of all other light vessels, which, whether made of deal or skins, can be rendered air-tight, needs, after what has been already stated, no demonstration. With casks, indeed, provided they be large enough, bridges may be constructed on an emergency which shall sustain, not infantry alone, but cavalry and field artillery also. Six wine-pipes, lashed together, would make a very good raft.

Its weight would not much exceed that of one formed with two large cylindrical pontoons, and it would sustain a burthen less than a pontoon raft by four or five cwt. only. And small armies or corps are continually liable to be thrown into situations where a knowledge of this fact may be of the utmost importance to them. Thus, in mountainous and difficult countries, where carriages are unable to travel, it will always be possible to transport on mules, or even by hand, empty casks enough, with the necessary planks and beams, to bridge over the sort of rivers which may be expected, in such districts, to cross our line of march. And if our field of operation compel us to traverse a desert, the casks and skins in which water for the use of the troops is conveyed may prove of immense service after we shall have emptied them. Thus Alexander's army passed the Oxus on rafts made of skins stuffed with dry grass. (Arrian, lib.iii. cap. 29.). We are informed by Livy that Hannibal's Spanish infantry crossed the Rhone by swimming with the assistance of inflated leathern bags; and Cæsar states that it was a common practice with the Spanish and Portuguese light infantry to pass rivers in this manner. Nor is modern authority wanting in support of these statements. Colonel Chesney, in his 'Expedition for the Survey of the Euphrates,'—a valuable work, to which full justice has not been done,—describes in detail the sort of rafts (consisting of logs of timber supported on inflated skins) which are still used, for trading and other purposes, in the rivers of Western Asia. These are facts which every educated and thoughtful officer will carefully register against the hour of need; for where cattle follow an army (and the army is in a bad plight which is not so attended), materials for the construction of rafts never can be wanting. We have only to take the skins of the slaughtered beasts, and deal with them properly, and a very effective floating vessel is at our disposal.

'The following experiment,' says Sir Howard Douglas, 'was made with an ox-hide trimmed into a circular shape, of about 5 ft. 6 in. in diameter. The skin was drawn together at the edge, and firmly bound round a tube made of alder-tree, having the pith removed; and a piece of leather was nailed upon the inner end, as a valve to prevent the air from escaping. The vessel was inflated by a common hand-bellows, and floated 300 lbs.; and, without any application to close the pores of the skin, remained nearly fully inflated for five hours; at the end of twenty-four hours, it was still found capable of floating 150 lbs. The weight of the skin was 45 lbs.; so that by this expedient great power of floatation may be packed in small space, and easily transported. Skins may be preserved for a con-

siderable time by common salt; and if covered with a solution of gum, or any glutinous substance, more particularly at the part which corresponds to the back of the animal, where skins are always most porous, they will retain the air for a very considerable time. By means of the wooden tubes, the skins may be re-inflated in succession at any time, without withdrawing them, by merely turning up the tube, taking off the lashing, which, as a precaution, should be made to close the vessel effectually below the valve, and then using the bellows as before.

It is obvious that, in order to accomplish our purpose with rafts thus hastily constructed, we must have means at hand for making them fast in the river; and as we are supposed to be in all respects reduced to our shifts,—as regular anchors and cables cannot be within reach, how shall we supply their place? In many ways. For cables, a quantity of stout cord, such as is used in packing, well twisted together, will suffice; failing these, willow-withs or coarse grass may be turned to account. In lieu of anchors, heavy stones with ring-bolts let into them, wooden grapnels, and loaded fascines, may be resorted to.

Perhaps, of all the expedients to which armies in the field are forced to have recourse in order to facilitate their movements, and to keep up their communications, the construction of bridges upon trestles is the least satisfactory. A bridge on trestles can hardly be put together at all if the bed of the river be rocky or muddy, or the river itself be very deep or fluctuating in its course. Such a bridge will never hold its ground against any sudden rise, for if one vessel be swept away, the undue pressure upon the rest becomes fatal. Still, forasmuch as a trestle bridge is perhaps the easiest of all bridges to construct, and that it serves every purpose, where the stream happens to be quiet and of moderate depth, the student will do well not to overlook the section in Sir Howard Douglas's work which treats of such bridges generally. He will there be shown of what materials trestles can be formed; how they are driven, as well in deep water as in shallow; what sort of balks are most suitable for connecting one with another; what weight of flooring is required, and how it is to be procured and laid down. For our own parts, we must content ourselves with giving, in the language of our author, two instances: one of failure in a trestle bridge through an accident which could not be guarded against; another, of its complete accomplishment of a proposed object in the face of difficulties of which the extent seems to have been enormous.

'The little reliance that can be placed on trestles was seriously experienced in the operations on the Guadiana in 1811,

when it became necessary to lay a bridge across that river at Jerumena. Notwithstanding the reports and assurances of the Portuguese government that the river abounded in serviceable craft, and that 20 large boats, which had formerly served for a bridge, were at Alvas, only five of those boats had been taken from Badajos, and no other means could be found in addition, to make a floating bridge across the river. But the officer of Engineers, Captain Squire, did everything that could be done, to construct, by other means, a bridge across the river. The five boats were applied in the usual way in the middle part of the stream; and, the depth towards the sides not exceeding 6 or 7 feet, the communication was completed with each bank by trestles. The bridge being finished, the troops were assembled ready to commence the movement, when a sudden rise of the river, to the extent of many feet, took place, swept away the trestles, and rendered the adjoining ford impassable. The communication being thus broken up, the five Spanish boats were immediately formed into two flying bridges for the cavalry and artillery—one formed of two, and the other of three boats—and a bridge for the infantry was constructed with some pontoons, and casks procured from the neighbouring villages, to complete it.

As a counterpart to this, take the following:—

‘On the retreat from Moscow in 1812, Napoleon and the wreck of his army crossed the Beresina on two trestle bridges.

‘The Russians having cut the bridge at Borisow, and being in position, in great strength, on the right bank of the river, it became impracticable for the French to effect a passage there. It was generally expected that Napoleon, checked at that point, would endeavour to pass the river below Borisow; and, accordingly, the Russians directed their attention and movements to the Lower Beresina, whilst Napoleon turned, with infinite ability, to attempt the passage near Weselowo, about four leagues higher up.

‘General Eblé, of the Engineers, who, from the beginning of the campaign, had made all the arrangements for the equipment and construction of military bridges, was specially charged with the important duty of providing for the passage of this river: and he discharged that duty with a degree of forecast and ability to which, certainly, Napoleon owed his escape, and the wreck of his army its safety.

‘General Eblé began to prepare, at Smolensko, for the difficulties which he foresaw in this operation. He formed, with every care, a train sufficient for the transport of all the tools and stores that might be required; and, further to provide against casualties and accidents, every man belonging to the companies of pontoneers was obliged to carry from Smolensko a tool or implement of some kind, and a proportion of nails. Fortunate was it for the army that he did so; for such was the difficulty in bringing up the carriages containing stores, that only two forge waggons, and six caissons of tools and nails, could be preserved. To these the General added a quantity of iron-work taken from the wheels of carriages that were abandoned on the

march. Much was sacrificed to bring off these valuable materials for making clamps and fastenings; but, as Ségur observes, that exertion "*sauva l'armée.*"

'The breadth of the Beresina at Wesolowo is about 100 yards—the greatest depth from 6 to 7 feet—the bottom muddy—the current moderate, but much loose ice was drifting down. The right bank is usually very marshy and soft; but the frost had hardened the ground, and made it practicable for carriages to approach the river.

'The preparatory works were commenced at about 5 P.M. on the 25th. Timber was procured from the demolition of houses. The height given to the trestles varied from 3 to 9 feet, according to the part of the river in which they were to be placed. The length of the ridge-beam was 14 feet. Twenty-three trestles were designed for each bridge, and consequently twenty-four bays, or intervals, of about 13 feet. Trees about 16 or 17 feet long, and from 5 to 6 inches in diameter, were felled for beams and applied in the round, there being no time to square them. For the superstructure or roadway of the bridge, intended for the artillery and other carriages, round timber, from 15 to 16 feet long and from 3 to 4 inches in diameter, was collected. For the flooring of the bridge for the infantry and cavalry, old planks, about 7 or 8 feet long, and 5 or 6 inches broad, and half an inch thick, to be placed in three layers, were torn off the houses.

'At daylight, on the 26th, it was announced to Napoleon that the division of Tchaplitz had moved from its position on the other side of the river. Napoleon immediately ordered some troops to be thrown across, and the two bridges to be commenced. Both were immediately begun; and, at the same time, some cavalry, each dragoon taking an infantry soldier behind him, swam across; whilst, by three small rafts, each capable of carrying about ten men, three or four companies of light infantry were likewise thrown over: these in a short time cleared the right bank of the river of the cossacks who still hovered about. Great difficulty was experienced in placing and keeping the trestles steady, until the floor could be laid, and, by its weight, fix them. No small boats could be had to facilitate the work; and the frost was so severe, that many of the pontooners, who were obliged to remain in the water throughout these operations, nearly perished with cold. At about 1 P.M. on the 26th, the bridge for the infantry and cavalry being finished, the divisions of Le Grand and Dombrowski, amounting to about 7000 men, crossed; and an 8-pounder and howitzer, with their waggons, and some others with musket ammunition, were taken over; in doing which it was necessary to observe the greatest circumspection and caution. The bridge destined for carriages (the construction of which was suspended for about two hours in order to finish the other the sooner) was completed at about 4 P.M. and the artillery and other carriages immediately began to pass. The roadway of this bridge being composed of round timber, the movement of the carriages on so rough a surface, and the pace of the horses, which, notwithstanding the orders that had been given to the contrary, were permitted to trot, caused the most

violent shocks to the bridge. The trestles sank, unequally, in the muddy bottom; great undulations in the superstructure, and inclinations of the trestles to either side, ensued; and these occasioned still greater strains.—The feet of some of the trestles separated, and three fractures in the roadway took place. Fresh beams were laid, but soon afterwards three trestles broke. The pontoneers resumed their work, and at 11 o'clock, the bridge being again practicable, the carriages recommenced crossing. On the 27th, at 2 A.M., three trestles, in the deepest part of the river, gave way: the pontoneers immediately set about repairing the disaster, but this proved a very difficult operation. It was effected, however; and the communication being re-established, the movements were resumed at about 6 A.M. Again two trestles broke, but they were repaired after about two hours' labour; the movements continued, and thus a small portion of the vast material of the grand army was saved.

The trestles of the bridge on the right, being only for cavalry and infantry, did not give way; but the thin planks which formed the roadway, having suffered much from the use which had been made of them, as coverings to the houses from which they had been torn, could not be solidly fixed, and were constantly getting deranged, splitting under the horses' feet, or breaking into holes. To obviate this as much as possible, the floor was strewn with tow and hay, and the covering frequently renewed and readjusted.

When the Imperial Guard began to move, the stragglers dispersed in the surrounding woods and villages, who had not taken advantage of the first night to cross the river, now rushed from all sides, and flocked to the river in one dense and confused mass, which soon choked up the narrow entrances to the bridges. The foremost, impelled by those who followed, were driven upon the guards and pontoneers, who were endeavouring to keep a passage open for the troops. In repressing these crowds of fugitives, many were trodden under foot in the *mêlée*, others thrown upon the floating ice, and great numbers, unable to regain the bridge, or to reach the shore, perished in the river. The efforts of Napoleon and his officers to reestablish order were unavailing. So great was the confusion, that force was necessary to clear a passage even for the Emperor, who crossed at about 2 P.M. with about 6000 of the guard, under Ney. The troops continued to pass till the morning of the 29th; but multitudes of stragglers, benumbed with the cold, were unable to avail themselves of this last opportunity; and about eight in the morning, General Éblé, seeing the Russians advancing, was obliged to set fire to the bridges, leaving vast quantities of ammunition, artillery, and baggage,—thousands of men, and many women and children, to the mercy of the enemy, and to the rigours of the climate.*

Passing by our author's remarks on 'Pile Bridges,' not because they are unimportant, but because bridges of this sort are as common in civil as in military architecture, we proceed to

* Ségur.

the last, and certainly not the least interesting, of the portions into which his treatise is divided. An army in retreat rarely omits to break down one or more of the arches in every stone bridge which it crosses. An army in pursuit must be able to repair such breaches, and to do so speedily, if it hope to overtake the fugitives. A corps or advanced guard, passing through a mountainous district, is continually liable to be brought up by streams which roar and brawl within precipitous banks, perhaps fifty feet above the level of the water. An advanced guard is never secure against the interruption of a canal, a broad drain, or a narrow river. A storming party may have a wet ditch to pass ere it can touch the escarp of a redoubt. What is to be done to enable the troops to surmount each of the obstacles when it occurs? In the first case means must be found for connecting the separated piers. In all the rest, the tact and ingenuity of the pontoniers must be taxed to throw a suspension bridge across the gap. The following general instructions will be found well worth the notice of all whose position or tastes lead them to the investigation of such questions:—

‘When beams cannot be obtained of sufficient size, in section, to enable them to support the weights they have to bear, the most obvious method of increasing the strength is to attach two or more of them together. One of them should be placed above the other, rather than by its side; for since the transverse strength of beams varies with the breadth and the square of the depth, vertically, it is evident that, with equal areas of section, that beam is the strongest whose depth is the greatest. It should be observed, however, that this manner of placing two beams can only be used when their bedding is so secure that there is no risk of their turning over. The united strength of two beams so placed will be increased by preventing them from sliding upon another at the surfaces of contact; which may be accomplished by cutting rectangular notches opposite to one another, transversely, in the upper surface of the lower beam and the under surface of the other, and placing pieces of hard wood in the holes thus formed; the intention being to make the fibres of one piece of timber act against those of the other in the direction of their lengths.

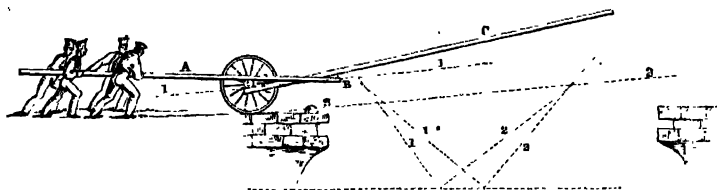
‘When the length of a beam is to be increased, two or more of them must be scarfed together. The simplest contrivance for this purpose is to notch the ends of two beams rectangularly, and to bolt them together. The method would be sufficiently advantageous if the timber were intended to serve as a pillar, but not so if it were to be a *tie-beam*, as the strength to resist a longitudinal strain depends wholly on the bolts, which may be bent by such a strain.

‘The beams of the famous bridge at Schaffhausen were so scarfed that the parts could not be separated by a longitudinal strain, unless the bolt were burst.’

Possessing a knowledge of these truths, and a general ac-
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quaintance with the principles on which a system of beams is combined for the purpose of forming the roof of an ordinary building, an officer will experience little difficulty, provided there be adequate means at his disposal, in connecting the piers of a ruined bridge upon a river of which both banks are in his possession. But, in following up an enemy, this can seldom be the case, and then it is that the skill and ingenuity of the engineer are taxed. Listen to Sir Howard, and examine at the same time his diagram, of which we subjoin a copy.

'In restoring, by carpentry, communications across broken arches, and (as in following up a retreating army) when only one side of the impediment can be got at, the great difficulty is to get the first beam across the gap. The method of effecting this was frequently resorted to in the Peninsula. For this a pair of wheels and an axle-tree are sufficient; and the process is so incapable of

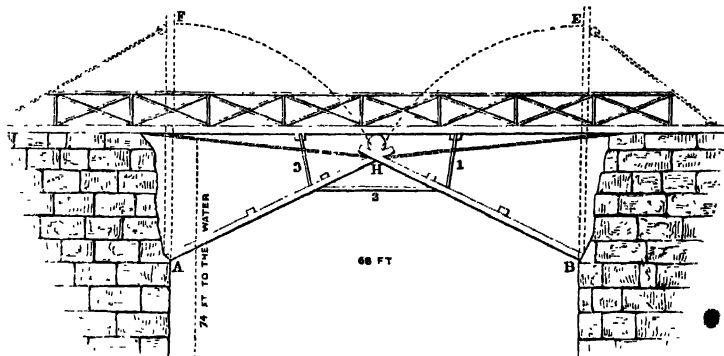


injuring them, that gun or waggon wheels, or limbers, may with great propriety be used, taking care, if a limber, with its shafts (the ammunition boxes being removed), is employed, to lash two beams (one of which, A B, only appears in the figure) to the shafts, so as to project beyond the wheels. Then, the beam C, to be laid over, be placed on skids sufficiently high, the carriage, with the beams A fixed as described, is backed till the axle-tree is a little within one end of the beam C: the beams A are then elevated, at the ends where the men are, in the figure, till their opposite points are so much depressed as to admit of the cross-beam B being placed underneath the beam C, which is to be laid across the impediment. The lever A is then worked downwards, and as soon as the beam is lifted, the whole is easily moved forward to the edge of the gap, where a high sill should be laid, to prevent the wheels from approaching too near.'

Again:—

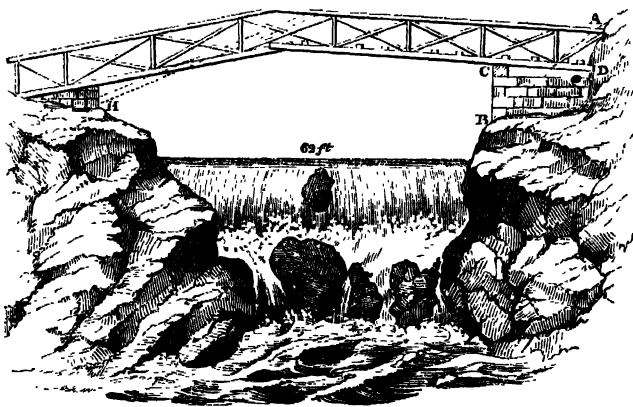
'The stone bridge across the Coa at Almeida, having been destroyed by the French in their retreat, and a passage across the river there being necessary for the operations of the allied army, a communication was established in the following manner:—Notches A, B were made in the masonry, and two frames, A F, B E, eased down, vertically, from the edges of the gap, in the upright positions A F, B E, resting upon the notches A, B. Two tackles, applied to each frame, led to ring-bolts set in the masonry at about 30 feet

from the gap. Fifty men being put to each tackle, the frames were lowered down to cross each other at H. Gang boards were then shoved out, and men sent to put in key-bolts, previously prepared: a ridge-piece was then fixed in the fork H, the beams laid,



braces 1, 2, 3 put in, and the communication served without shake or failure.'

We might add to these descriptions an account of the operations

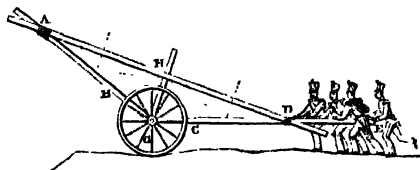


of the staff corps, in repairing two arches in the bridge at St.-Jean-de-Luz, which the enemy, after their defeat on the Nivelle, had broken down; but we should only repeat in substance what is here given in sufficient detail. We go on, therefore, to notice other exigencies for which every leader of an advanced corps ought to be prepared—such as his arrival at the bank of a narrow but deep river, where there is neither a bridge nor any ostensible means of forming one—where boats are not to be had—and

only a few trees grow, all of them too short to be stretched from one bank to another. If, indeed, there be one tree within reach long enough to stretch across, he is safe enough. He has only to fell it into the water, confining the trunk to its own bank, and letting the current force the head round to the opposite side. The branches will be sure to get jammed there with great force, which will assist the natural buoyancy of the tree in carrying weight. But we assume that, though there are trees, none happen to be of sufficient length to effect this object. What is the officer to do?

'If the river be too wide to be spanned by one tree, and that two or three men can, in any manner, get across, let a large tree be felled into the water on each side, and placed close to the banks, opposite to each other, with their heads upwards. Fasten a rope to the head of each tree — confine the trunks — shove the heads off to receive the action of the current, and ease off the ropes, so that the branches may meet in the middle of the river, in an angle pointing upwards: the branches of the trees will be jammed together by the force of the current, and so be sufficiently united to form a tolerable communication, when a few of the upper branches are cleared away. If insufficient, towards the middle of the river, to bear the weight of men crossing, a few stakes, with forks left near their heads, may be thrust down, through the branches, to the bottom of the river, and hitched to the main branches of the trees; or the force of the current may be made to yield vertical support to the communication, by applying a few planks, forming a plane, inclined to the surface of the current in an angle of about 50° : by this means, that power which, in the flying bridge, acts horizontally, may be obtained vertically, in a manner that will greatly add to the stability of the rough structure.'

Another ingenious method of constructing a bridge in a hurry is this. An officer has at his disposal a pair of wheels, — a gun carriage will do, — connected by the axle-tree, a few beams, and a sufficiency of rope. He fastens the ends of two beams, A B and C D, to the axle on one side, and to the beams A D, on



the other he regulates the opening A G D according to the known breadth and depth of the impediment to be surmounted, and prepares his floor of a few light planks. It is laid, and at a convenient season the whole machine is run up from the rear, and

pushed forward into the river or ditch, till the extremity C C mainly rests upon the near edge. The wheel is thus in the middle of the water, and by letting go the line which keeps G A C in an elevated position, that section of the bridge falls, and a communication between the opposite sides is established. The merit of this invention belongs to the late Lieut.-Gen. Sir William Congreve, of the Royal Artillery. He meant his bridge to attend columns of attack in the assault of field works, on which occasions we doubt not that it would prove very serviceable.

Suspension bridges are important chiefly as establishing the communication of an army with its rear, and enabling it to pass rivers which the enemy have long abandoned and of which we are therefore in full possession. The principles on which they are constructed demand no elucidation at our hands. They do not vary, whether the bridges themselves be designed to facilitate warlike operations or peaceful traffic. One great difference, however, is found in them—that whereas the civil engineer has iron rods and ties at his disposal, the military artificer is obliged to depend upon ropes and timber. One of the most beautiful specimens ever executed of bridge architecture of this sort was presented to the admiring gaze of the British army in 1812. Sir Howard has made it the frontispiece to his treatise. We cannot do better than leave to him the pleasant task of describing it.

‘One of the principal arches of Trajan’s bridge across the Tagus, at Alcantara, having been destroyed by the French, Lord Wellington found it necessary to direct that a communication over that bridge should be re-established, for the purpose of bringing up artillery and stores from Badajos for the attack of the forts at Salamanca. Timber of sufficient dimensions to effect this could not easily be procured; and, indeed, any application of that material to make good such a fracture would have been extremely difficult, and required much labour to be performed on the spot in fashioning, framing, and setting-up the work; and which, consequently, would have given warning to the enemy before the campaign opened of some important movement in that quarter being intended.

‘To obviate these difficulties and objections the officer sent in April, 1812, to make preparations for this operations—a man of fertile genius and great practical knowledge—happily devised an application of cordage, which might be prepared secretly and even in privacy at any distance from the place at which it was to be used; it might also be easily transported thither entire, and speedily stretched across, whenever it might be required. The formidable impediment was very nearly 100 feet wide. The materials of which this extraordinary work was constructed were as follow:—

- ‘1. 4 beams of poplar, each 30 feet long, 12 by 8 inches.
- ‘2. 8 ditto, each 20 feet long, 6 inches square.

- * '3. 48 joists, each 12 feet long, 3 by 5 inches.
- '4. 120 ditto, each 12 feet long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 inches.
- '5. 100 half-inch screw bolts, each 10 inches long.
- '6. 100 inch-and-half planks, each 12 feet long, 1 wide.
- '7. 50 two-inch planks for the ends, same dimensions.
- '8. 10 triple blocks, sheaves 12 inches diameter, brass cogged and iron pinned.
- '9. 10 double ditto, ditto.
- '10. 10 double blocks, sheaves 6 inches diameter, for working tackles and guys.
- '11. 10 single ditto, ditto.
- '12. 450 fathoms $6\frac{1}{2}$ rope, for great net and bridge bearers.
- '13. 200 ditto $4\frac{1}{2}$ rope for falls, for bridge tackles.
- '14. 200 ditto $2\frac{1}{2}$ rope, for working tackles and guys.
- '15. 100 ditto $4\frac{1}{2}$ rope, for straps round the beams.
- '16. 1000 ditto 3 and 4 yarn, spun yarn.
- * '17. 140 yards strong tarred canvas.
- * '18. 500 weight bars of iron, for cramps and bolts.
- '19. 200 lbs. of lead.
- 'Tar, rosin, grease, marling spikes, fids, old canvas for parcelling, salvages, straps, tail tackles, twine needles, a portable forge, blacksmiths', masons', and carpenters' tools, drill hammers, scrapers, and needles.
- 'Two pontoon carriages.
- 'Four crabs or small capstans.

'The rope-work was put together in the pontoon house at Elvas, in the following manner:—two beams (1 in the preceding list), laid on trestles 4 feet high, placed 90 feet asunder, were first secured to the end walls of the house by tackles and braces. The $6\frac{1}{2}$ -inch cable was then stretched in eighteen lengths, or rows, round the beams with a uniform, moderate strain, such as to admit of the parts or rows of the cable being drawn together by strong lashings, at alternate points, and formed into a body of net-work; the two outside rows of the cable being first steadied by tackles to the side walls of the house, to resist the inward strains resulting from the process and to retain the net-work of uniform width throughout.

'Cross beams having channels cut in them, and seared to smoothness with a heated iron (the arm of an axletree) were then laid on the net-work, each notch receiving its corresponding portion of rope, and firmly lashed by spun yarn at all the crossings.

'The beams were prepared in a novel and ingenious manner, with the materials mentioned in the preceding list. At each end of a beam, two of those of the narrower dimensions were connected with it by screw bolts, and in this manner jointed beams, formed alternately of single and double pieces, were easily set up, and prolonged to the full length of the floor of the intended communication when required for use.

'Several important objects were accomplished by this ingenious contrivance. The individual parts were of very convenient length

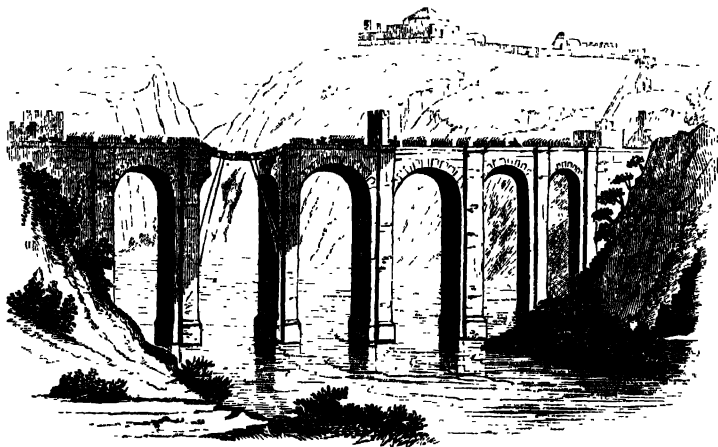
for being transported on carriages, easily put together, and readily adjusted as the work proceeded. The beam of the larger dimension in breadth was used for the single part, whilst two of half that dimension were applied to form the link which connected it with the next single beam, and these gave to the whole a sufficient and nearly uniform strength. Joints resting upon cross pieces permitted the beams to confirm, by their flexibility, with the curvature of the bridge: and the bearing of the double portions of the beams on each cross-piece, being nearly 8 inches, was more favourable to the solidity of the whole than could have been effected in any other manner. The beams, thus formed and laid atwart the cross-pieces, had their joints adjusted to lay exactly on those bearers, and were then firmly lashed at each end of the bridge.

‘Planks for flooring were provided, with holes bored in the end of each, to admit of their being lashed to the beams, and to each other.

‘This vast net, when completed, with its end beams, was rolled up, firmly bound together, and loaded on a pontoon carriage. The means of transport for the whole apparatus were two pontoon carriages, each drawn by six oxen; eight large cars, each drawn by four oxen; and the lighter materials in seventeen cars, drawn by two oxen each.

‘At a sufficient time previous to the removal of the materials for application, an intelligent officer, Lieutenant Perry, was sent to superintend the cutting of channels in the masonry of the bridge, to receive the straining beams, to which tackles were to be fixed.

‘To facilitate the laying of the bridge, two strong hawsers, represented by the lines drawn longitudinally under the floor of the



bridge, were stretched across the gap as conductors, upon which the further end of the net-work might be hauled over.

'A tarpaulin, 4 feet wide, was stretched along the outside ropes, as a blind for cattle and horses; and tackles fixed to two of the cross beams and to ring-bolts set in the masonry below, to brace and steady the bridge. A railing, formed of posts and ropes, completed this extraordinary work; and the whole was finished in time to open a passage across the Tagus for the column of siege artillery, under Colonel Sir Alexander Dickson, who crossed it on the 11th, and arrived at Salamanca on the 20th of June.'

Here, then, we bring to a close our analysis of Sir Howard's very able work. The extent to which our remarks have been carried—not less than the nature and length of our quotations—sufficiently vouch for the degree of estimation in which we hold it. But we should be untrue to our craft were we to let it pass out of our hands absolutely scatheless. We think that Sir Howard is not always happy, either in his style or in the arrangement of his subjects. The former is loose, sometimes obscure, not unfrequently tautological. The latter would be very much improved were the order in which he has placed his sections less involved, and in some striking instances inverted. We allude especially to that section or chapter with which the treatise opens; and which, if received into the volume at all—of which we are doubtful—would have stood better at the end of the book than at the beginning. However, these are defects which indicate rather lack of skill in the *author* than of intelligence in the man. The *Treatise on Military Bridge-making* has obtained, as it deserves, a European reputation. And we recommend it to the officers of the army, as a work which will prove to them not the less useful, that it will demand from them, while studying it, their best and most concentrated attention.

ART. VII. — 1. *Report from the Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps; together with the Proceedings of the Committee, and Minutes of Evidence.* Printed by Order of the House of Commons.

2. *Speeches of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer, April 18th, July 1st, and July 21st, 1853.*
3. *Speech of Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., at Holmfirth, February 2nd, 1853.*

IF Mr. Tadpole had politically survived as a member of the present generation, on whom the latter days of the world of party seem to have come, he would certainly, to his profound remark about the utility of 'good cries,' have added a lament-

ation over their scarcity. Whether or not it be that, in the lapse of time and the progress of reform, we are really running short of grievances—that is, of popular and exciting grievances—there has of late been manifest a great eagerness to seize, and a greater reluctance to part with, any epithet at all serviceable in political agitation. Complaints are kept up after the grievances have been redressed; names are retained after the things have ceased to be; and the phrases, arguments, and machinery employed against one thing are sometimes transferred to another without much regard to connexion or resemblance. With all respect to many well-motivated men who have implicated themselves in the transaction, we have still to say, as the result of a careful and, we hope, impartial inquiry into a subject the importance of which has hitherto perhaps been insufficiently appreciated—that an impermissible license in this practice of transferring epithets, arguments, and agitation has been taken by those who, since Lord Monteaigle's budget of 1836, have been keeping up the cry about 'taxes on knowledge,' and that it will be scarcely possible to devise any decent excuse for those who may persist after Mr. Gladstone's budget of 1853.

Is there not a *primâ facie* improbability in the case of the agitators? A tax on knowledge! What party or class in this country, at this time of day, has any interest, or can rationally be suspected of any desire, to perpetuate such a folly and iniquity? And we put the question with no mental reservation or quibbling, but with the full admission that a tax on newspapers would be a tax on knowledge, and on very wholesome and useful knowledge. There might have been a time for such a charge—nay, we confess with shame that there actually was, at no more ancient period than 1836. But in all such matters there has been an utter revolution of opinion and feeling even among the most inveterate votaries of the old political régime: there is not now a man in Parliament who would not be both ashamed and afraid to utter the doctrines with which Mr. Spring Rice was encountered by the Tory members, when he constructed the present admirable system. To imagine that there are any who think they would profit by having the newspaper press fiscally burdened, is in fact at least as absurd as to think that there still linger some who desire (or at least would dream of avowing or acting on a desire) to see it politically trammelled. Not more rational is the insinuation we have occasionally seen, that public men—the previous, present, or expectant holders of office—find the press as it exists so subservient to *their* ends as distinguished from the public good, that they selfishly and corruptly resist a

change. The order of things from which this accusation is drawn has also passed away — newspapers have very obviously learned that there is more profit in popularity than even in such an amount of partisanship as is practically requisite and morally honest, and that the shortest and easiest cut to popularity is not defence but attack — nay, a rather large proportion of them seem to find their account in a constant cry of ‘naught, naught,’ directed against everything proposed, and everybody that proposes. No Ministry of late years can be said to have had even one thoroughgoing, trustworthy supporter among the London daily papers. Governments and parties, merely as such, now owe newspapers nothing — and are not the least likely or inclined to take much trouble, far less to do injustice, on their behalf. Again, when we see the British newspaper press not merely the only free one in Europe, but undeniably the best in all the world, is it not rash to keep calling on us to help and pity it as bound and burdened? Yet so much is there in a name, and in old associations, that there are people who, at the mention of ‘the taxes on knowledge,’ are always ready, without more ado, to vote for what the Americans call ‘indignation resolutions,’ and sign any manner of petition — forgetting what has been done, not looking at what is, and taking no thought of what is to come.

Several events and considerations seem to point out the present as a favourable juncture for attempting to get the subject more fully and popularly understood. A committee of the House of Commons has made an inquiry and pronounced a deliverance; Mr. Cobden, on the part of the agitators, has explicitly revealed the nature of the results they aim at accomplishing; and several Acts passed during the late Session have somewhat altered the aspect of the question, and cleared away some things which obstructed, or were used so as to obstruct, a fair view. When we find no press in the world to be compared to the British, and when we have it, as we shall see, officially announced by the agitators, that what they seek is ‘an entire revolution,’ there is plainly enough to convince us that the question is one of no light public concernment.

As we shall have occasion to challenge the decision at which the majority of the Committee of the House of Commons arrived, — to seek to show that they not only set aside the present system on entirely insufficient grounds, and on almost no evidence, but that their substitute is in all respects bad, and in one essential demonstrably impracticable, — it will tend to lessen our apparent presumption, and to explain how men of ability even tacitly lent their names to such a document, if we sacrifice

a few sentences to pointing out by what means the inquiry was got up, and in what manner it was conducted or misconducted. It was got up, and virtually managed throughout, by a society in London, called 'The Association for Promoting the Repeal of all the Taxes on Knowledge,' whom we are not in the least blaming for doing with zeal what they think a good work. The Chairman of the Committee was the President of the Association; and of the acting members of the Committee a majority, if not all members of the Association, were known friends and sympathisers, and also men of energy and ability (for instance, Mr. Milner Gibson, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Ewart, and Sir J. Walmsley), the remainder being gentlemen little interested or otherwise occupied. But it is on looking at the list of witnesses that the strange imperfectness—if it be unparliamentary or otherwise improper to say one-sidedness—of the inquiry becomes fully apparent. The number of witnesses examined (besides one brought merely to explain an incidental point) was twenty-one. Of these five were functionaries of the Stamp Office and Post Office, called to speak as to the machinery and technicalities of the system, and who may be passed by with the remark that they all, so far as asked or allowed, indicated an opinion contrary to that at which the majority of the Committee arrived. Of the remaining sixteen, ten are members of the Association, and another was a gentleman from America, procured by the same body for the special purpose of testifying in favour of their views. There remain five, whom we may call the independent witnesses; that is, witnesses selected, not for their proved partisanship, but as representative of certain interests or classes, or possessing a special knowledge. Of these *one*, and one only,—Mr. H. Cole, who was brought forward as having, from philanthropic motives, 'turned his attention to the operation of the 'Newspaper Stamp Law,'—gave a clear testimony in furtherance of the Committee's ultimate decision; but it is worth remark in passing, that Mr. Cole's arguments, and all his quoted authorities (as shown by their dates) refer to the former Fourpenny, and not to the present Penny Stamp; that his main objection to the present system would be removed by the Post Office adding to its present services the distribution of papers in the places of publication; and that he is decided in opinion that if the present system is changed the law must give a copyright in news. The other four witnesses were, a gentleman from the 'Times,' whose testimony was quite adverse to the decision of the Committee; another from the 'Daily News,' who declined to give even a modified approval, save under the tremendous condition of a law preventing one paper from copying the matter of

another; and the editor of the 'Scotsman,' and Mr. W. H. Smith, news-agent, both of whom gave strong evidence in favour of the existing system. With the single exception, therefore, of Mr. Cole, the decision of the Committee was come to *against* the evidence of all the witnesses, save those who were summoned, not as having a special interest or special means of knowledge, but as being active partisans of one view, and the originators of the inquiry. The strange—we do not say suspicious—selection of witnesses thus appears pretty plainly when we look at who were *there*; but it is still more manifest when we consider who were *not*. It will not be denied, that those connected by proprietorship or otherwise with the management of newspapers, must be in possession of facts and of opinions likely to have been useful to the Committee; and the Chairman of the Committee, and the Committee itself in the Report, declare, that the interest of the present newspapers in the question is not only not a *sinister* interest, but that at least one, and that the largest section of the press, is the most directly aggrieved by the existing system. In the Report (p. viii.) the Committee say, that they 'find little evidence in 'favour of the opinion that the proprietors of existing newspapers have an interest in the maintenance of the stamp, and 'would be injured by its abolition;' and we find (Minutes of Proceedings, p. xxi.) that the Chairman desired to add to this an expression of opinion, 'that if the stamp were abolished, 'papers of established reputation, and enjoying the public confidence, either would not be affected at all or would have their 'circulation extended;' in p. vii. of the Report it is said, 'With 'regard to the operation of the stamp on the established newspapers, it is of course (?) obvious that, by increasing their cost, 'it limits the field of their circulation;' on p. viii. of the Report, we have the grand fundamental assertion, that 'provincial newspapers make little use of the post;' and on p. xii. 'the limitation imposed by the stamp on the circulation of the best 'newspapers,' and 'the unfair competition to which stamped 'newspapers are exposed with unstamped publications,' are assigned as two out of three reasons in favour of a change. Now here we have it laid down by the Committee themselves, that persons engaged in the working of the press as it exists, who know more and have thought more on the subject than any other class, are also not only free from any special or sinister interest, but are greatly wronged and injured by the present system. What, then, more natural, and indeed necessary, than that the Committee should have summoned before them fair and competent representatives of this class, and given due weight

to their testimony? Let us see what was done. Two witnesses were examined from the London press, who gave testimony adverse to the conclusions of the Report; one from the Scotch press, also strongly adverse, and who has since published that he came unasked and was virtually sent away unheard; and none at all from the Irish press. There remains the great provincial press of England, numbering 220 newspapers, and consuming annually 18,000,000 or 20,000,000 of stamps. From that body the witnesses consisted only of one gentleman, a Liverpool editor, (unless we are to reckon persons connected with abortive village papers who had got into trouble with the Stamp Office, which would only further strengthen our present argument); and he (or he and they) certainly gave very strong opinions against the existing system. Would not the natural inference from that be, that the bulk of persons connected with the English provincial press—whom the Committee declare to be specially qualified and quite disinterested—are in favour of the Committee's conclusions? But on the first occasion afterwards when these persons had an opportunity of speaking (a meeting of the Provincial Newspaper Society—a body which seems to include the mass of the English newspapers), it was resolved, by 38 to 7, 'That it is desirable that the Penny Stamp on Newspapers should be retained as at present.' Nor were the Committee during the course of the investigation kept in ignorance of the real state of opinion among this body, for the one witness whom the Chairman selected from it honestly enough told them he was no representative of his brethren (A. 722.): 'I should say, 'if you polled the newspaper proprietors throughout England, *nine out of ten* would be disposed to keep the system just as it is.' Yet not only did the Committee not take means to obtain the facts and reasons of any of the nine men out of ten, but they came to conclusions avowedly founded on the evidence of this confessed one man out of ten, who does duty, in the preamble of the Report, as 'gentlemen connected with the provincial press!' Of course we do not for a moment impute any thing worse than too great zeal and haste to one section, and too little care and attention to another; but, beyond denial, there is a strange imperfectness in the evidence, and a very considerable discrepancy between the decision and even that evidence, such as it was; or, at all events, there is but a very poor pennyworth of proof for such an intolerable quantity of adjudication.

Passing on to the question itself, it may be necessary to see, first of all, what the so-called 'taxes on knowledge' lately were, and what they now are. Their number was three—the paper duty, the advertisement duty, and the penny and

halfpenny (supplement) stamps; to which was added, as a fourth grievance, the ill-defined state of the law as to what constitutes a newspaper. In our view, two out of the three taxes here named were really taxes, but not, in any proper sense, taxes on knowledge; while the third—the postal stamp—is not a tax on any thing whatever. At all events, of the four grievances only one now remains intact, one has been removed entirely, another as far as practicable, and another, so we think, as far as is either just or beneficial. As to the paper duty, which alone remains unalleviated, Mr. Gladstone doubtless spoke truly when he said (House of Commons, July 1st), ‘It is bad in itself, and as soon as the state of the Treasury will allow, it ought undoubtedly, upon general principles, to be repealed.’ But we cannot affect to be surprised or indignant that Mr. Gladstone should in the meanwhile have removed the tax on soap, *i. e.* on cleanliness, rather than a tax which, whatever its commercial inconveniences, falls, in about four-fifths of its amount, and much more heavily in its *ad valorem* proportions, on paper used for purposes quite unconnected with any sort of knowledge; which, on an article reaching the consumer, in its literary uses, only in small quantities, is so light as to be indivisible and inappreciable; and which forms part of a fiscal system where we find ten millions of revenue, or more than ten times the paper duty, raised on such essential articles of food and comfort as sugar and tea. It is quite rational and proper that Mr. Charles Knight, and other able and public-spirited men of the same class, should cry out, ‘See how the State burdens us in our efforts to instruct the people;’ but would there not also be something rational and proper in grocers crying out, ‘See how the State burdens us in our efforts to feed the people?’ The thing is an evil, and the best that can be said of it, or indeed of any tax, is, that it is for the time a necessary evil; that, in short, the paper duty is a bad tax, and only temporarily defensible, on the ground that taxes must be got, and that there are several still worse ones presenting a prior claim to extinction. The advertisement duty also was a tax, but it is now no more, and requires no other remark than that its removal is a great convenience to the public, and a great gain to newspaper proprietors. A bill has been passed defining so far as possible what is to constitute a newspaper in the eye of the law, and so to subject to the burden, or, as we would say, entitle to the benefit, of the penny stamp; and although it is true that that object cannot be completely accomplished, it is perfectly certain that the necessity of leaving a discretionary power somewhere attaches to every system that has been tried

or imagined, including the system of the United States, which the agitators aim at as a model; the American witness, when asked (Qu. 3,039) 'What do you call a newspaper? where do you draw the line between what comes under the postage rate and what is liable to a higher rate?' answered, 'There is no carefuleſs about theſe matters; one poſtmaſter would call a thing a newspaper, and another would not, and they often refer to the poſtmaſter-general, and he decides.' And, by no means leaſt, the ſupplement ſtamp has been repealed;—a change which is rendered of ſpecial value by being contemporaneous with the increaſe of demand for newspaper ſpace certain to accrue from the repeal of the advertisement duty, and which in effect amounts to a gift to the newspapers of an additional *fifty per cent.* of poſtal ſervice for the penny ſtamp. All the tax on knowledge, then, that remains—all that we have here to diſcuſs—is the penny ſtamp;—the charge of 1d. for carrying a ſheet of nearly 3000 inches, or 5 oz. weight, everywhere, and almoſt for ever.* The queſtion being thus reduced to this one unencumbered point, we deſire to inquire—with no motive ſave to diſcover what is beſt for the preſs and the public—whether the preſent arrangement between the newspapers and the Poſt Office really deſerves the accuſations which have of late been ſo induſtriouſly, if not extenſively, brought againſt it; or whether it may not, after all, be as deſenſible in principle, and eſpecially as beneficial in practice, as any plan yet deviſed or ſtumbled upon.

The grand ſource of the readineſs with which a portion of the public aſſent, or at leaſt the patience with which they liſten, to the complaints of the agitators, is in the device of calling the ſtamp a *tax*. Mr. Milner Gibſon, the chairman of the Committee, in drawing up the Report ſeems to have been amuſingly careful, on every poſſible occaſion, to give this bad name to the dog he deſigned to hang. But, in obvious truth, the penny ſtamp is no more, but greatly leſs, a tax than any payment a man is called on to make for almoſt any ſervice or any commodity he requires. Take the neareſt analogy. People are got to talk about the penny ſtamp on newspapers as the Newspaper Tax;—why does nobody ever talk of the penny ſtamp on letters as the

* One troubleſome and ſometimes heavy tax upon knowledge was placed upon a better footing by Mr. Gladſtone's recent revision of the Tariff. The cuſtoms duty on all books printed before 1800 has been repealed, and the various rates of duty upon books printed ſince that date—which cauſed much inconvenience to the importer—have been consolidated into a ſingle moderate rate.

Letter Tax? Show us one respect in which the letter penny is less a tax than the newspaper penny, and we will show a dozen respects in which the difference is immensely the other way. In both cases, the penny is paid for the same kind of service—for the service of transmission and delivery; and it is a matter very easy of proof that the service given for the newspaper penny, which people call a tax, is much greater in its amount, and more excellent and indispensable in its nature, than that given for the letter penny, which people rightly call a benefit. The letter penny carries only half an ounce, only once, and that once only within the limits of the United Kingdom;—the newspaper penny formerly carried (on an average, the measurement being by superficies and not by weight) 3 ounces, and now carries $4\frac{1}{2}$ ounces, or *nine times* the weight carried by the letter penny; it carries it an unlimited number of times; and it carries it to the Antipodes. And, in the nature of things, are not services of this class as valuable and essential to newspapers as to letters? A newspaper is scarcely a newspaper if read only in the street next to that where it was printed, or elsewhere than in places at such a distance as to render them, in nineteen cases out of twenty, best and most cheaply reached by post. Consider what are the materials and the uses of a newspaper—that it is made up of narratives of events happening over the whole face of the world, and that its chief or primary uses are to tell men what they have not got knowledge of by their own senses, not what they have themselves seen or done—and the fact stands very manifest that no thing or system can be imagined of which *transmission* is more an essential and vital part. In the vast majority of cases, a letter can be made and can be brought to use with incomparably less of the service of transmission than is necessary to the making and bringing to use of a newspaper. And, finally, by the carrying of newspapers the State *loses* (such is Mr. Rowland Hill's very moderate computation) 30,000*l.* a year; while by the carrying of letters, it *gains* 1,000,000*l.* a year. Is it not something like a very enormous mistake to stigmatise as a tax the payment made for a service essential to the receiver, and rendered at a heavy annual loss to the giver?

Yet, strange to say, this very obvious fact—that the penny is not taken for nothing, but for services worth much more than the money—is often forgotten, at least in phraseology, by those who not only know better but think otherwise. Thus, we find the *Times*, which has generally taken a sensible view of the subject, and which has in consequence been subjected to very absurd and unjust attacks—forgetting itself one day after this

manner: — ‘A fearful epidemic invades the country — a man must pay a penny for being acquainted with the fact; it approaches his town — another penny for that piece of information; it may be averted by preventives and mitigated by remedies — any accession to his knowledge on these critical points is charged a penny more; Her Majesty opens Parliament with a speech containing some important intimations — he is taxed a penny for reading it; a statesman makes a speech announcing a great policy — every reader pays his penny for being edified thereby; a colliery accident destroys a hundred men, and scatters misery over the land — the colliers of the next parish must pay a penny to profit by the caution; it is a penny to be forewarned of an eclipse, or to have it explained. This of course is thoroughly indefensible, except on the old familiar ground, that money must be got one way or another. *Post nummos virtus*. First the Treasury, then public improvement. It appears that the tax raises about 350,000*l.* a year.’

This would be very well, but for two facts which are quite fatal to it — the penny is paid, not for the information, but for the cost of carrying it; and the Treasury, instead of gaining 350,000*l.* to the loss of ‘public improvement,’ expends 30,000*l.* in the promotion of that very object. The mode of reckoning here adopted by the ‘Times’ is tolerably correct so far as it goes — 350,000*l.* is pretty nearly the sum paid for stamps; but, for that day only, the leading journal had forgotten to look at the other side of the balance sheet, or had been seized with the hallucination that 80 millions of newspapers can be carried anywhere and everywhere between Printing House Square and Australia without trouble or cost. It would be quite as accurate to say that a man who buys a ‘Times’ has paid a ‘tax’ of 5*d.*, whereas, both in quality and quantity, he has got a five-pence-worth such as he can procure nowhere else — quite as accurate, we say, because the journal has some profit on the price, but the Government only a loss on the postage.

Although, however, the penny is not a tax, it may be a payment exacted for services which could be better or more cheaply performed otherwise, or which, to some extent, are not required or rendered at all. And doubtless the agitators would meet the question — where is the difference between the newspaper penny and the letter penny — by saying that all newspapers, unlike letters, must pay whether they need the post or not. As against this, we have already seen that the newspaper enjoys, for the penny, privileges far superior to those permitted to the letter — that the newspaper of 5 oz. is treated with incomparably greater favour than the letter of $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.; and

we shall see soon that no system can be devised coming so near to equity, and, as an instance, that the project of the agitators and the committee is not only demonstrably much less equitable than the existing system, but, as to one essential portion of it, is absolutely impracticable. But, first of all, let us see if there is any rational presumption that the necessary services *could* be performed more cheaply, and if there is any considerable or appreciable portion of the newspaper circulation which *does not* actually avail itself of these services, and would not confessedly find them necessary under any system whatever.

It will not be denied that the Post Office, — which, as the sole carrier of letters, has to send bags to every village, and deliver to almost every door, in the Kingdom, must, speaking generally, be able to do the work of carrying and delivering newspapers more cheaply and efficiently than any private person or combination of persons. If, therefore, the Post Office finds (as already mentioned) that the carrying of newspapers in return for the 350,000*l.* worth of stamps is not profitable for the revenue, it is assuredly a demonstrated folly to assume that other agencies would be found to do the same work for less money. That the Post Office has no profit is quite certain, and, so far as we have seen, undenied. A year or two ago, Mr. Rowland Hill estimated the annual loss at 30,000*l.* : but as it is impracticable to apportion the expenses of the establishment as between letters and newspapers, and as there are various principles on which the calculation of the cost of carrying newspapers can be made (for instance, whether and to what extent, the establishment should be assumed as necessarily existing for letters), any attempt at the precision of figures is apt to provoke a challenge which it is easy to give and difficult to meet. It is sufficient for the present purpose that all official authorities agree in representing the transaction as undoubtedly a losing one for the public revenue, and that there is no testimony from newspaper proprietors save to the effect that by no other means could they get their work done so cheaply. For instance, in a recent parliamentary document (Report on Contract Packets, p. 42.) Lord Canning, the Postmaster General, says : — ‘*The labour and expense of the conveyance of newspapers is very great. In number they are believed to be equal to more than one-fifth of the number of letters : in weight and bulk they are twice as great as the letters. The number posted in London alone is about 770,000 weekly ; and the preparation of them for despatch by the night mails occupies about 240 men.*’ Now, estimating by numbers alone (and we shall see presently on official evidence that Lord Canning has greatly underrated the number of papers carried), and supposing

for the moment that it is as easy to carry 5 oz. as $\frac{1}{2}$ oz., the newspapers carried by post last year should have paid, in round numbers, 500,000*l.* (497,656*l.* being the fifth of the sum of 2,488,280*l.* received for the postage of letters), and as the revenue for newspaper stamps (including the supplement stamp now abolished) amounted to only 400,000*l.*, here is a loss of 100,000*l.*—or, if not a loss to the Post Office, a gain to the public and the press. But it is needless to point out how far this method of computing by numbers alone falls short of showing the whole loss, proceeding as it does on the hypothesis that a preponderance of tenfold in the weight causes no increase in the cost of carriage, and irrespective of the fact stated by the Postmaster General that the newspapers paying 400,000*l.* for carriage were in mass *double* the weight of the letters paying 2,488,280*l.* But even this is not all—we should find a great deal more to the same purpose were we to extend inquiry into the proportion of the expense of the packet system justly chargeable against the carriage of newspapers. That service gives a net annual loss of about 400,000*l.*; and as an indication (for there seems no official record) of the extent to which that cost is incurred for the transmission of newspapers, it may be mentioned that in the mail-bags of a vessel wrecked last spring there were found 3580 newspapers and only 780 letters, and that when, owing to an accident, the bags had lately to be removed from the ‘*Orestes*,’ a vessel bound for Australia, they were found to contain 15,000 newspapers and no letters at all. Here, then, were 15,000 newspapers, averaging between 3 and 4 oz., not merely carried round the world for 1*d.* each, but, as all but a fraction of them had doubtless previously received at least one and many of them more than one postal service within the Three Kingdoms, really carried for nothing, while letters to the same destination are charged at rates vexatiously varying from 2*s.* 2*d.* to 8*d.* per half ounce! Well, then, who will undertake to do all these services cheaper—cheaper, as we have seen, in one department, and on the whole, than nothing at all? Assuredly those whose experience has enabled and induced them to consider the matter, have not, so far as they have spoken, announced any such discovery. Thus, the proprietor of the ‘*Sussex Express*,’ in a small, populous, and accessible district, states that the transmission of his journal is accomplished by the Post Office at a weekly cost to him of 18*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*, (the price of the stamps), while he finds, on minute inquiry and calculation, that he could not, by any other means, accomplish even *one* transmission of each paper for less than 52*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*—there being thus a saving of 32*l.* 12*s.* a week, or 1799*l.* 4*s.* a year. And this, if it is an

exceptional instance, is exceptional only so far as Sussex is, in the matter of compactness and accessibility, far *above* the average of districts.

It is quite true that one particular portion, or rather only a portion of that one portion, of the service *might* be performed cheaper; it is possible to carry papers to large towns, such as Liverpool and Manchester, — *i.e.*, anywhere that the papers can be sent, as one of the Association witnesses explained it, in 'large bales' — for less than one penny each. But, in the first place, this is but one and not a large portion of the whole service; and it would obviously be quite unfair that the profitable portion of the service should be given up to private interests, while the public bore the burden of the unprofitable portions, as the supply of the smaller towns, the rural districts, and the colonies would be—which is the only alternative, unless these places were either left unsupplied, or supplied dearly and inconveniently. The sweet must go with the sour — not the selected sweet to private speculators and the rejected sour to the State. The truth that, in all cases save transactions in 'large bales,' nothing is found so cheap as the post, is, besides being self-evident, made apparent by the fact that there is a constant pressure by publications not strictly newspapers, nor requiring that instant and expeditious transmission which, to newspapers, is vital, to obtain as a benefit what the agitators denounce as a burden. Thus the 'Athenæum,' which enjoys the somewhat anomalous privilege of stamping only such portions of its impression as it finds convenient, mentions that by means of the stamp it sends about 3000 of each publication 'into such 'places as know but little of newsvenders' and booksellers' 'weekly parcels.' And, if the stamp is thus found to so large an extent the cheapest mode of transmission for a publication whose nature enables it to be sufficiently served by luggage-trains, stage-coaches, and tradesmen's weekly parcels, it follows pretty plainly that no other system nearly so cheap is within the reach of newspapers, to whom the very quickest means of transmission is a first and absolute necessity. But, in the second and chief place, the carrying of London papers to the chief provincial towns is only one portion of the portion of service which even these identical copies require and at present receive. All but the merest fraction of the papers now carried down otherwise than by post, chiefly to counting-houses and reading-rooms, are taken up again the same afternoon or next morning, and transmitted and retransmitted to readers with less urgent requirements or of humbler means than the readers who procure them first and by express. Will anybody say

that *this* service can be rendered so cheaply, or indeed rendered at all, by any other means than the post? And will anybody say that the withdrawal of this service would not be a loss to the poorer classes of readers, whose interests the agitators profess to have at heart — in the face of the obvious fact that it can only be the rich who pay an extra charge to get their papers an hour earlier, or who do not afterwards use the privilege of postal transmission, and the still greater privilege of *re-transmission*?

Next, is there any considerable or appreciable portion of newspapers that *does not* actually take full value for the penny? ‘No record,’ says Mr. Rowland Hill (A. 1823), ‘is kept of the number of newspapers passing through the Post Office;’ but, on official evidence, printed and oral, we get near enough the facts for the present or any practical purpose, and near enough, too, to see that, beyond all doubt, the ordinary estimates on this head have hitherto been greatly under the truth. The total number of penny stamps annually consumed is about 80 millions, of which more than $65\frac{1}{2}$ millions are taken by England, more than $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions by Scotland, and less than $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions by Ireland — the English portion being subdividable into $47\frac{1}{2}$ millions for the London and 18 millions for the provincial papers. Take, first, the London papers, which, — as having a population little less numerous than that of all Scotland within a circle of three miles round them where they are not even *allowed* to use the post, and as being, to a considerable extent, transmitted to the great towns on the ‘large-bale’ system already alluded to — make less use of the Post Office than any other portion of the press. The Postmaster-General tells us, in the passage already cited from an official document — ‘The number posted in London alone is ‘about 770,000 weekly.’ This would give an annual transmission from London alone of rather more than 40 millions, which, as the London consumption of stamps is 47 millions, would indicate that nearly six-sevenths even of the London papers use the Post Office even in the first instance, irrespective of subsequent retransmissions. But that Lord Canning’s estimate, which was given incidentally while dealing merely with a cognate part of the subject, is considerably too low, is made pretty obvious by the evidence of Mr. Bokenham, Superintending President of the Inland Department of the Post Office, who was brought before the Parliamentary Committee on Newspaper Stamps to speak specially to the point. When asked (Q. 1976) ‘How many newspapers are transmitted daily ‘from the London Post Office?’ he replied, ‘The numbers vary ‘daily from 120,000 to 260,000.’ Now, even Mr. Bokenham’s

minimum gives an annual average of nearly 44,000,000; so that it is beyond question that even in London, which has the smallest share of the services of the present system, more than all that is paid for is given—the retransmission of London papers that have been previously read within the three miles, and of provincial papers that have formerly been carried *inward*, more than equalling the number which have in the first instance preferred the agency of newsmen and railway parcels. As to the remaining portions of the press—the English provincial, the Scotch, and the Irish—there never could have existed any doubt that the uniform penny stamp is to them not merely a blessing but a necessity, until Mr. Milner Gibson's Committee discovered that 'the provincial newspapers make but little use of the post!' This notion could have had no other origin than the fact that the majority of the members of the Committee were ignorant of the matter, and neglected to make inquiry of persons better informed. We have observed, however, plenty of volunteer evidence offered posthumously—none of it at all corroborative of the Committee. Take, for instance, ever such a district as the county of Sussex, or that portion of it of which Lewes is the capital—thickly inhabited, and easily and cheaply traversible in all directions. The proprietor of the 'Sussex Express' tells us, in 'Notes' on the Committee's Report:—

'Within the district there are 50 market towns of populations varying from 3000 to 20,000 inhabitants, and from these towns there are 495 local post deliveries. The number of copies published that week [the week in which he happened to make his calculations] was 4316, of which 1569 were sent to the towns, and 2747 to their neighbourhoods, by the local posts. With the exception of 200 copies, the whole were sent away from the office by post; and I ascertained from the postmaster that of these 200 copies sold in Lewes more than two-thirds were sent by post within two days afterwards, by the purchasers.'

The provincial press, which was held by the Committee to make 'little use of the post,' is thus shown to use it at least once for every copy that it prints—even in a district having fifty market towns within sight of each other, and all sorts of conveyances at choice. What, then, must be the amount and the necessity of postal service taken by papers in districts where the population is not clustered in 50 market towns, but scattered in 5000 separate and remote houses, where the area to be traversed is five or ten times the area of Sussex, and where almost the only known or possible conveyance is the post? Some of the Scotch papers, we observe, speak very strongly, because very feelingly, on this point. One of them says:—

‘ Nearly four-fifths of the impression are sent direct to the Post Office, and the remainder sold or delivered in town. Of the latter class nearly the whole are posted after being read. I do not believe there are fifty persons who retain the paper in their possession. The papers subscribed for and read in the North are then sent to relatives or acquaintances settled in the large towns in the South, whence they are in many cases despatched abroad and to the colonies — particularly to the latter, as so many families from these districts have friends in the colonies. Numbers sent through the post from this office are read first in the country — four or five counties — (recollect how scattered our population is); then they are sent to Glasgow, Edinburgh, Manchester, &c., next to London or different parts of Ireland, and finally to the colonies — going, in many instances, three, four, and five times through the post.’ And another — ‘ Our circulation may be taken at 2050 weekly, of which 430 are called for, or sold at the office, or delivered; and there are posted 1620; so that nearly three-fourths are sent direct to the Post Office. I believe that if you take *the whole 2050 as being posted twice over, it will be much under the mark.* I know that when we happen to be entirely sold out, it is very difficult indeed, three days or so after publication, to get a single copy out of the 430 in the town for love or money.’ These are specimens, and fair specimens, of the evidence put forth *after* the decision, by those who, instead of being allowed to speak before it, were set aside unheard, with the sweeping remarks, ‘ the provincial newspapers make little use of the post,’ and ‘ the operation of the stamp obviously limits the field of their circulation !’

We have thus seen that no *cheaper* mode of carrying newspapers can be devised; and that, on the whole or ultimately, *all*, and much more than all, the newspapers are carried by the present mode. The facts that some of them are not carried by post in the first place, and a very few not at all, remain, but can be in great part removed, and are, even as they stand, quite imponderable as placed against the advantage of the system in all its other parts and as a whole. As to those alleged inequalities that are removable, we agree with the Committee, that there does not seem any sufficient reason why newspapers should not be delivered by the Post Office in the places of publication as well as elsewhere. The Post Office would then have *offered* to do all that it could be asked to do. It would happen that, under the spur of competition, a considerable quantity of papers would still be delivered by private means; but the Post Office cannot be expected to adjust itself to each

particular set of circumstances in the case of newspapers any more than in the case of letters and circulars, which it is often found cheaper or quicker to despatch by extra or private means. But how very small that number would be may be computed from the admission made by Mr. Milner Gibson, the Chairman of the Committee — that if his own plan were adopted of charging only those actually posted, ‘six-sevenths of the whole’ would still go through the Post Office.’ That, we think, is a very important fact; and we would request the reader who desires to understand the question and the full folly of the proposed ‘revolution,’ mentally to make note of it.

And we would farther request a special share of attention to a part of the present system, which, of itself, would compensate a thousandfold for such petty inequalities, and which, in its practical working, is a benefit both morally and pecuniary, which it is almost impossible to overrate—we mean the privilege of *retransmission*. Perhaps we could not more briefly indicate the advantages of this privilege than by quoting the following passage from the Committee’s Report—a passage moved by one of the minority, but admitted by the Chairman and the majority as irresistible on the evidence:—

‘Mr. Smith, the head of a London newspaper agency firm which has been established for the last sixty years, and which transmits about one-seventh of all the London daily papers, states distinctly that the retransmission of newspapers is carried on to a considerable extent, so as greatly to reduce the cost of their newspaper to those least able to pay for it. He gives instances in which the cost of the “Times” is thus reduced to 2*d.*, and to even 1*d.*, and yet read by the last person in the series on the second morning after publication; and he adds, that the number of persons thus receiving the best newspapers at a very cheap rate, is exceedingly numerous, and that the proposed charge of 1*d.* for each retransmission would, in fact, prevent them, probably, from taking any paper at all, unless it was a weekly paper.’

In other words, people are enabled by this privilege to get 5*d.* newspapers for 1*d.*

Having seen what the present system really is, let us now look at the substitute which issued from the deliberations of the Committee. And here it must be mentioned in passing that the witnesses in favour of abolishing the stamp, one and all, admitted that they had nothing to propose in its room—they had thought it would be pleasant to get rid of the payment, but had taken no thought as to how otherwise the work was to be done; so that for the substitute we are indebted entirely to the predominant party in the Committee. It is in two parts—

1. That the penny now levied on all papers, and entitling to

postal transmission and retransmission, shall be levied only on the papers actually posted, and shall be payable anew for each transmission.

2. That no newspaper shall be allowed to copy news from another till it has ceased to be news — ‘a short privilege of ‘copyright.’

The reader who has followed our account of the existing system may have occasionally been puzzled why men acting for the diffusion of knowledge should assail that system as taxing and restricting knowledge, but will be more surprised to see that as the substitute they purpose to place knowledge under a system of Protection or Monopoly, and to make it pay afresh every time it is diffused!

Passing for the moment the project of copyright, let us see what the other part of the substitute would accomplish. It abolishes *retransmission*, giving as a counterbalance the benefit of printing without a stamp such papers as are never carried from the place where they are printed. Shall we estimate the loss and the gain by this change with the aid of Mr. Milner Gibson’s admission? ‘Six-sevenths of the whole would still go ‘through the post;’ but, the reader will understand, would be allowed to go only once. What then does it come to, but that, for a small and dubious gain to *one*, a very great and undeniable benefit is to be taken away from *six*?

But we should not speak of the benefit of retransmission as undeniable, for, most inexplicably, all through the proceedings of the Committee, we find Mr. Cobden, and, in a less degree, Mr. Gibson, displaying towards it the strongest repugnance. To Messrs. Hill, Parkhurst, and the other official witnesses, question after question is put, and put in vain, endeavouring to extort a condemnation of the retransmission system, till one would infer that Messrs. Cobden and Gibson were labouring for the protection and profit of the revenue, and the Post Office officials for the cheap diffusion of knowledge!. Thus Mr. Cobden to Mr. Hill: —

‘1653. Do you know whether it was contemplated that the same newspaper should pass through the post repeatedly for the same stamp?’

‘1779. Excepting in the case of newspapers, you never carry the same thing twice without a double charge?’

‘1782. You feel that it is an anomaly that ought, if possible, to be put an end to?’

‘1821. With regard to the continued circulation of newspapers, should you think that it exists to the encumbrance of the business of the Post Office?’

Why all this burning anxiety to elicit from the Post Office that it does too much for the public in the way of diffusing knowledge? Why should those who seek to make newspapers 'cheap,' thus seek to drive the Post Office to make them dearer? Why should they attack a system by which, as we have seen, people can get 5*d.* newspapers for 1*d.*, and point a favouring finger towards a system under which, whenever the same service was exacted, people would not get a 3*d.* newspaper for less than 6*d.*?

The answers of Mr. Hill and the other official witnesses to all those solicitations comprise a very important point. The abolition of retransmission implies the *obliteration* of the stamp on its first transmission, and that again implies an examination and handling of each separate copy. Even proceeding on the calculation that much fewer newspapers would go through the post, Mr. Hill told Mr. Cobden again and again that the examination and obliteration could not be accomplished without 'a vast accession to the present force.' So anxious, however, was Mr. Cobden to devise some means of preventing more than one transmission being got for a penny, that he suggested (again in vain) that possibly Mr. Hill could contrive some plan by which the papers might be tumbled in multitudes down a hole, and obliterated by means of certain sulphureous *fumes* — a sort of Penny Pandemonium. All Mr. Cobden's labour on this point, however, was not in vain; for he brought out with striking certainty the fact that, under *his* system, as compared with the present, the Post Office would require to do *more work*, not merely for less pay, but with *less service*.

A word on the copyright project, and it needs little more than a word. There is no doubt that some papers are made up, to a very great extent, of materials provided and paid for by other papers (the provincial of course borrowing largely from the metropolitan); that this practice has of late become more of a hardship, owing to the electric telegraph enabling the provincial papers to issue the news obtained by the London papers several hours before the London papers themselves can reach the spot; and, especially, that the proposed change, tending greatly to limit the reading of each district to the paper of that district, would immensely aggravate the injustice, which to the present amount is unavoidable. But the 'copyright' proposed by the Committee, although in justice a corollary from the rest of their project, would, if it could be carried out at all, inflict evils at once monstrous and ludicrous. How could one newspaper prove against another a property in some piece of news which *might* have been obtained elsewhere, or is expressed

in different words? Or, if this could be done, how could it be borne that a piece of intelligence should be made practically the exclusive property of the paper that happened first to get hold of it? Why, this plan would necessitate a man either to be content with such a share of the world's news as could be obtained at first-hand by some one of our 700 newspapers, or else to 'take 'in' all the newspapers in the country! It would make news—almost any but district news, or those coming within the special ken of each one newspaper—a luxury of tremendous price, and would cancel half the benefits bestowed upon us by the invention of printing. In one word, it would be absolutely intolerable; and the only comfort is that it is as absolutely impracticable. But is there, then, no means by which those who buy their news at immense cost in every quarter of the world can obtain some amount of shelter from those that borrow their news ready-made? None that is conceivable, *except* what is given in that compensating operation of the present system, pointed at by Sir Frankland Lewis, a member of the Committee, by which the real or London owners and the rural borrowers are put, in the rural district, on somewhat of the same footing. Look at any country paper, and it will be seen that a large proportion of its contents is necessarily procured from other and especially from London papers; and all the witnesses before the Committee seem to admit that without that the country papers could not exist. Thus, Mr. Cobden, whose desire appears to be that local papers should give only local news, asks one of his own witnesses (Q. 2299): 'Do you find generally, now, that working people in a locality like Norwich take more interest in the news of the immediate district than they do in news from a distance?'—A. 'Not more interest.' At present, the London papers which have borne the cost of obtaining the news from a distance, can present themselves at Norwich and all other localities as cheap as the papers of those localities: under the proposed change, even supposing that Mr. Cobden's hopes of a penny press were not to any extent realised, the borrower would, each in his own locality, have a premium of a penny per copy, or an advantage of 20 or 25 per cent., over the owner. This is pretty clearly, though unintentionally, illustrated by one of the Association's witnesses—a Manchester periodical-dealer, who said (A. 2599)—'It is too bad for the Manchester and other local papers, which have to compete with London, that the London papers should be carried down to Manchester free of any charge, and sold in Manchester to compete with the Manchester papers.' Yes, but that portion of the matter of the Manchester papers with which alone the London papers

can be held competing has been procured and paid for by the London papers, and has been thence taken *free* by the Manchester ones. To which may be added the facts that, if the London papers are carried down to Manchester free of charge, the Manchester papers are in like manner carried up to London, and that neither party comes forward to say that there is felt to be hardship or injustice in the matter. The complaint, then, substantially is, that the borrower is not enabled to sell for 4*d.* what the owner cannot sell for less than 5*d.* But look at the Committee's remedy—that the borrower shall be enabled to sell for 4*d.* (always, of course, only on the very spot of publication), but under the tremendous condition that he shall not be allowed to borrow anything until such time as it shall have lost all savour and value.

We now come to the most plausible, but not the least hollow part of the agitators' case. They proclaim that, but for the uniform penny stamp, we should have in this country newspapers sold at twopence, one penny, or even one halfpenny, as in the United States. On consideration and comparison, it will be found, we think, that there are at least these two facts standing immovably in the way of such a conclusion:—1st, that the removal of the uniform stamp, and the necessary substitution of a charge for each postal service, though it might render papers nominally cheaper on the spot of publication, would render them *dearer everywhere else*; 2nd, that even on the spot of publication the cheapening would not amount to more than one penny (a reduction from 5*d.* to 4*d.*), save by diminution in quantity and deterioration in quality. And we shall, as challenged, investigate these two points by the light afforded by the American system.

That the change proposed by the Committee would really cheapen papers only on the spot of publication follows from what we have already seen—that there is no possible means of carrying them more cheaply than at present; and that fact a comparison with the American system only makes more apparent. There have been so many changes within these four or five years in the postal charges and arrangements in the States regarding the carriage of newspapers, and there are so many complications and Transatlantic technicalities in the tables of rates as they stand, that it is not quite easy to state them accurately; but we are safe enough as to the main facts. In 1850 the rates were, for a paper of 1900 inches of surface, *inclusive of margin*,—(which may be taken as equivalent to 3 oz. in weight, and to the then British limits of 1530 inches, *exclusive of margin*)—1 cent for *each* transmission if not more than

100 miles, $1\frac{1}{2}$ cent over such distance, $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents to Oregon or California, 4 cents to Great Britain, and so on. A system somewhat different was introduced in the end of 1850, and sketched to the Committee by the American witness; and another still has now succeeded, which we find thus stated in an American Post Office document, bearing date the end of last year: — Each newspaper, not exceeding 3 oz. in weight, to any part of the United States, 1 cent; for every additional ounce, or fraction of an ounce, 1 cent; sent to Great Britain, 2 cents; sent to other foreign countries, variously 4 and 8 cents. What the reader must here mark is, not merely that the weight carried by the American Post Office for these various charges is 50 per cent. less than that now carried by the British Post Office for the uniform penny, but, much more, that the American charges, varying according to distance, are for *one* transmission, while the British charges are for any number of times and all distances. And there seems still another difference as against the American system, of which we have heard as yet very little in this country: ‘The papers,’ said the American witness before quoted, after stating the rates and modes of carriage, ‘are *delivered* only to the gentlemen who have boxes; to the subscribers ‘at their houses *they are not distributed without an extra charge.*’ So that the American Post Office not only carries less weight than the British, and carries only once, but it merely *carries*, and does not *deliver*. Add to this, that while the British charge for any number of transmissions is 20 per cent. on the price of the article, the American charge for one transmission is often 100 per cent., and not seldom 400 per cent., on the price. As, then, even the United States, to which we are on this question referred for the height of perfection and the lowest depth of cheapness, exhibits a *dearer*, as well as an incomparably less convenient system of transmission than we enjoy ourselves, it is clearer than ever that an adoption of the American system cannot (*ceteris paribus*) cheapen papers that are *carried*, but would, on the contrary, make papers dearer everywhere but on the spot of publication. For instance, the Committee are constrained, as we have seen, to instance the operation of the British system in enabling persons in a series of readers to get the 5*d.* ‘Times’ on the morning of the second day for one penny, — a practice they admit to exist to ‘an enormous extent.’ Under the American or Cobden plan, the ‘Times’ would, it is true, begin at 4*d.* instead of 5*d.*, but, instead of decreasing, would increase in cost at each transmission to a new reader, till, at the stage at which its cost now declines to one penny, it would have ascended to 8*d.* Or state it thus,—the proposed change

would make a paper cheaper only to *first* readers, and only to that portion of first readers *residing* at the place of publication, while during the course of its after-existence—in all its uses to non-local and subsequent readers—instead of, as at present, becoming cheaper, it would go on accumulating costs.

Perhaps the most effective mode of showing that, even on the spot of publication, English papers could not be reduced by more than the price of the stamp, save by a proportionate reduction in quantity and quality, is by showing what is the actual price of the few American papers that at all approach ours in either, but especially in the latter, of these properties. And we could scarcely do this better than in the words of one of our most useful and elaborate writers on America—the late Mr. Alexander Mackay, who, though opposed, on some grounds we do not comprehend, to the uniform stamp, yet thus corrects the erroneous notions as to the disparity between English and American prices, in his work ‘The Western World’ (vol. iii. pp. 245—247.):—

‘There is no little misconception in this country as to the cheapness of American newspapers. Independently of the stamp and excise duties, the first-class papers of this country are in reality *cheaper* than the first-class papers in America. It is true that a large proportion of American newspapers are sold at the low rate of 2 cents, and some at 1 cent a copy. But it would be unfair to institute anything like a comparison between them and the daily press of this country. Taking the first-class papers of New York, such as the “*Courier and Inquirer*,” the “*Journal of Commerce*,” the “*Commercial Advertiser*,” the “*New York American*,” &c., we find them sell at 6 cents per copy. This is about $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ of our money. It is obvious, therefore, that if they had a penny to pay by way of stamp-duty upon each number, and about a halfpenny more in the shape of excise-duty upon paper, their cost would be $5d.$, which is the price of our daily papers. So far they appear to be upon an equality. But when we take into account the enormous expense at which a paper in London is conducted, we see that a London paper, with stamp and excise duty off it, and selling at the same price as an American, would, in reality, considering the expensive appliances brought to bear upon it, be much cheaper than the Transatlantic journal. But I have not yet done with the points in the comparison favourable to the English press in point of price. Whilst the American papers, had they the same burdens to pay as the English have, would sell at $5d.$, the actual selling price of the English papers is *fourpence*—in other words, the selling price, minus the stamp and excise-duties, is twopence-halfpenny, or one penny lower than the American paper, which is produced at one-half the expense, so far as all its literary departments are concerned. It is true that, to the public, the price of a London paper is fivepence—but it is the newsvender, not the newspaper, that pockets the difference. The true state of the case,

therefore, between the two papers is this, that whilst a first-class American paper sells for threepence-halfpenny, a London paper, which is produced at infinitely greater expense, and has a smaller advertising patronage, and which is, at the same time, burdened with stamp and excise-duties to the extent of nearly a penny-halfpenny per copy, sells at fourpence.'

A good paper in New York—a paper at all resembling a London paper—is thus, even on the spot of publication, cheaper by not so much as the price of the stamp, and as not possessing the privilege of transmission save by a fresh charge at each carriage, is of course, in reality, a higher priced article. Indeed, the fact that papers as good as our present ones would be only the penny cheaper if not carried, and consequently dearer if they were carried, is admitted even by the secretary of the Association (A. 955):—‘I do not believe that such a paper as the “Times” would be at all cheaper than it is now, excepting [when not carried] ‘by the mere reduction of a penny.’

But the fact doubtless remains that there are in the States penny (even halfpenny) papers, of large circulation, and that we have nothing resembling them in this country. It might be sufficient to meet this by pointing to the facts and admissions already cited, to the effect that, as the penny stamp makes only the difference of one penny, and not of 4*d.*, on papers equal in size and quality, the difference between 5*d.* and one penny must arise from something, whether a fiscal something or not, other than the stamp. And what that something is, is stated even by the Association's American witness, and is plain to everybody that ever looked at those penny papers. They are not newspapers, but advertising sheets. Thus the American witness says (A. 2660), ‘The circulation of the “New York Sun” is 50,000; *there is no profit upon that*; but the advertising would be about 60*l.* a day;’ and again (A. 2978), ‘The profit is *nothing* on ‘the circulation.’ And, to bring down the facts to a later date, we have before us a copy of this gentleman's own paper, issued on April 11th, 1853, where we read, ‘The “New York Daily Tribune,” having completed the twelfth year of its existence, ‘signalises its entrance into its teens to-day by an enlargement ‘of its borders, which will add fully one-third to its area, and ‘require us henceforth to pay more for the white paper on which ‘it is printed than all we receive from its subscribers.’ Take also a word or two from English witnesses (still adhering to those adverse to our views): — (Whitty, 645), ‘This St. Louis paper ‘is larger than the “Times,” and printed with smaller type, and ‘it is *all but four columns filled with advertisements*;’ (Hunt, 2328), ‘The leading article does not occupy above half a

‘column, and the whole real news in this American paper, which is the best commercial paper in New York, would go into less than *one page of a London paper*,’—a statement which, being made of a high-priced American paper, applies, of course, with additional force to the penny ones; (2352), ‘The American papers are *nearly all advertisements*.’ These papers then sell, for their penny or two pence, *four columns* of news, and their price becomes doubled or trebled in going through the post; the ‘Times’ sells, for its *5d.*, seldom less, and often far more than *twenty-four* columns of news, or six times the quantity (the qualities are not comparable), with, included in the *5d.*, the right of transmission, without limit of times or almost of distance. The notion, therefore, that *news* is cheaper, even in the penny or twopenny papers of the State, is a proved and admitted mistake. If we are shown certain sheets of paper from America sold at a penny, we can reply by showing certain sheets published in this country, mainly advertising, but containing as much news as *these* American papers, given away in tens of thousands, stamps and all, for *nothing*!

The only real *fiscal* obstacle to our having in this country so-called newspapers as great in number and low in price (and quality) as in America, has now been removed by the abolition of the advertisement duty. But it is another monstrous mistake to assume, as the agitators seem all along to have done, that from this change, or even from the removal of the stamp (which we hold and have sought to show is a profit and not a tax), American results would follow. Although advertising is now as free here as in America, and although there will certainly be a large increase, it is foolish to expect that the practice will grow to the enormous extent it has reached in the States;—there is, as affecting such a matter, a mighty difference between a country like *that*, where things are new, shifting, and growing, and one like *this*, where things are old, familiar, and stationary. And, even though the advertisements could be got in the quantities requisite to sustain numerous papers selling ‘four columns’ of news for *1d.* or *2d.*, there is not among the masses in this country anything like the same *market* even for so low-priced a literary and political commodity. The masses in the States are better off than ours as regards wages and consequently leisure; they are, owing partly to the nature of their institutions, greatly more interested in politics and all public events; and, more than all (let us say it with shame), while on the other side of the Atlantic the rarity is to find a native American that cannot *read* with ease and understanding, the rarity here is to find a smock-frocked or fustian-jacketed Englishman that *can*. The American

witness, in allusion to the fact of the masses in the States being all capable of reading, adds, 'the capacity that is obtained in the schools creates a demand for newspapers.' Turn from this to the statement made by Mr. W. E. Hickson, a member of the Association, in relating his experience in trying to read the papers to Kentish villagers (A. 3196): — 'I discovered, to my surprise, that I could not read twenty lines of the leading article of the "Times" without finding that there were twenty words in it which none of my auditors understood. I remember one passage which not one of the agricultural labourers to whom I was reading understood at all. The editor was speaking of some operations of our fleet in the Channel; the word "operations" puzzled them, the word "fleet" puzzled them; they did not know what a fleet was, and they had not the slightest idea of what the "Channel" meant.'

Marvellous to say, a man of Mr. Hickson's ability dreams that he sees a remedy for this in *smaller* newspapers — which would, however, it is obvious from his own statement, be as little understood as the 'Times,' unless they used words plainer than the plainest, and of less than one syllable. The newspaper 'revolutionists' (as they seem pleased to be termed) instead of leaping at once to America and back, with the conclusion that, under the same fiscal and postal arrangements, the newspaper circulation of different countries would be similar, might have seen something at home which would have made them think again: in Ireland, (whose system has differed from that of the other two kingdoms only in her advertisement duty being lighter by 50 per cent., and the stamp itself by 25 per cent.), the annual consumption of stamps per head of the population is less than 1; in Scotland it is more than 3!

Since, then, the question, looked at from any side, thus appears so plain, what, it will naturally be asked, are the overpowering motives, or the too rashly assumed results, which have blinded a few of our best and ablest public men, as well as a portion of the multitude who are prone to echo 'a good cry?' Their motives we shall learn presently from their own mouths; but the actual results for which they hope are very obscurely and oppositely defined. We are told what they want to destroy, but we are not told, or are told contradictorily, what they hope to build up in its place. If we listened to the chief witnesses, as distinct from the chief members of the Committee, we should learn, first, that the British is 'the best press in the world;' and then that the result of the change they seek would be (Whitty, 625) 'a total revolution in the whole press of the country' — (Cassels, 1425) 'a complete revolution in the newspaper press

‘ of this kingdom.’ A total revolution in the best thing of the kind in the world is not a very satisfactory proposition ; but there is in addition a very confusing antagonism of idea as to what the revolution is to consist of. Some of the Association think it will make papers infinitely more numerous — others that it will make them less numerous, though of greater circulation. For instance, Mr. Cole (2755) thinks that the grand benefit will consist in enabling newspapers to be set up without capital ; while the leading witness on the same side, Mr. Whitty, says (617), ‘ to publish cheap papers would require about *four times* the capital that is required to publish a paper at present ;’ and again (631), ‘ at present it does not cost much, but *then* you could not commence a newspaper certainly under 10,000 !’ Now, which of these two things are we to regard as the probable and the desirable one — papers set up by anybody everywhere, or papers set up nowhere but in great fields and by nobody but large capitalists ?

Till further explanation we may continue to doubt whether *either* result would not be a misfortune. The hypothesis of a few monster or monopolising papers is suggestive of many evils and inconveniences — for instance, in a country where parties are so many and so keen, it would inevitably lead to the expedient lately existing in France of supporting newspapers by party subsidies, a practice destructive of integrity and independence. But there is more need, we suspect, to look at the opposite hypothesis — the multiplication of petty papers in petty localities. And we would beg the reader to mark well both the probability of this result coming about, and the great deal that it signifies. At present, for instance, a London paper is as cheap at Inverness as at London, and so of an Inverness paper — the London papers go freely to Inverness and the Inverness to London ; and thus there is a constant interchange and commingling of events and ideas, as between district and district, to the great benefit of both readers and writers. Under the proposed change, the paper of each locality will be cheaper *there* by at least the price of carriage than the paper of any other locality ; and inevitably people would more and more see only the paper of their own locality, and as inevitably that paper would write *down* to that locality, its topics, its prejudices, and its scandals. This cannot be gainsaid by those who ascribe to a penny such potency for good or evil, and who point to the United States press as a model — for their American witness stated (3004) that ‘ the circulation is more *local* than in this country :’ (2997) ‘ a paper is published in each district of 10,000 inhabitants ;’ and (2982) ‘ as a rule, the papers do not penetrate into counties and

‘towns in which other papers are published.’ Nay, we have direct evidence from the agitators not only of what is likely but of what they desire: one of the witnesses, we have already seen, hopes the effect would be very considerably to exclude even the London papers even from so great and wealthy a place as Manchester; and another of them (Whitty, 624) says that the grand effect will be that ‘three persons out of four’ will take ‘two local papers.’ Now, this looks as if the blessing were to consist not so much in giving a paper to those who had none, as in giving two to those who had one; but, letting that pass, look what is the balance of gain and loss by this change. The person who is afterwards to take two local papers, formerly took only one, which he sent to a friend in London in exchange for a London paper—a great benefit to both, not likely to be continued when the transmission cannot be made without the trouble and sacrifice of a fresh payment. It seems impossible to conceive a system better fitted than the one we have for making the British press national and great—nor one better fitted than that with which we are threatened for making it local and petty.

When—in looking for an explanation of the desire to substitute a system glaringly bad for one admittedly good—we go further *up* we fare much worse. In various shapes it comes out that Mr. Cobden and his friends are actuated by the feeling that from the press, as at present constituted, they do not receive sufficient support as a party, or proper courtesy as individuals. Time after time Mr. Cobden querulously questions the witnesses thus:—

‘Is not the tone of the leading articles in the French press more courteous than those of England towards public men?’

‘Has it not struck you that in the press of Spain (!) and Germany there is greater courtesy shown towards individuals?’

Such manifestations of soreness in a man so eminent are equally surprising and saddening. One who has played so roughly and so successfully at bowls surely ought not to be so very tender and irritable as to rubbers. A man of such powers might be expected to add to his other qualities, if not magnanimity enough to take in good part, and even take to heart, the advices of the honest and sensible, at least equanimity enough to despise the assaults of the unscrupulous and the silly. At all events, the punishment at which he aims seems vastly too great for the provocation. Everybody must heartily wish that newspapers of a certain class, in speaking of and to Mr. Cobden, would pay more regard to truth, and taste, and

rence, if not to his talents and achievements; but, nevertheless, we cannot but think that 'a total revolution' by Act of Parliament is too tremendous and indiscriminate a retaliation. The offenders are, so far as we have seen, only a few of their class, but 'his great revenge has stomach for them *all*.'

* Nay, it would be well, or rather less ill, if even this were all. But, unfortunately for himself, and fortunately for the forewarning of the public, Mr. Cobden has, since the Committee sat, still more fully revealed his designs and motives. For instance, the following passage, from a speech he delivered to a Mechanics' Institution at Holmfirth last February, has an importance so painful as almost to entitle it to the name of the Second Holmfirth Catastrophe:—

'People would resort to newsrooms, not to read the leading articles—for, with all respect for the talented writers of the public press, I regard the leaders as of far less importance than the articles of news in the paper. Take a newspaper up, and you will find news brought from all parts of the world; nineteen-twentieths of the whole paper consist of news, and only one-twentieth part of original articles or leaders; therefore, with all respect to the editors of these newspapers, I believe *these original articles, so far as guidance and direction are concerned, are the least useful and interesting parts of their papers*—facts and intelligence being more sought after by readers. There are far more newspapers in America than here, *but they have less political influence.*'

What, then, have we here deliberately and explicitly revealed as to the motive and aim of the change laboured for by Mr. Cobden, and recommended by the majority of the Parliamentary Committee? That the British newspaper press should cease to *discuss* public events and public men, and become a mere reporting and recording machine. And let it not be thought that this fact rests only on the avowal of Mr. Cobden; it appears in the whole spirit, and shines through the whole evidence of the agitators; nay, one of their chief and most able men, Mr. W. E. Hickson, backed, at least to some extent, by Mr. Ewart, says (3212) that *he* 'is willing even that leading articles should be *prohibited*!' Newspapers are to be pipes maintaining communication between orators' lips and the public ear, but to emit any sounds on their own account is impertinent and mischievous. 'Prythee, let those that play your clowns speak no more than is set down for them.'

And, to understand all that is meant, let us ask the same high authorities (we are here dealing only with the leaders of the movement) what they expect to come in place of those dis-

cussions which they hope to suppress. Mr. Whitty replies (679), '*Real tales from the police office, which are about the most instructive reading in the world!*' (688), '*I have stated that I consider police reports the most instructive and most desirable reading in the world.*' Mr. W. E. Hickson (3198): '*A good account of some trial at the assizes,*' — '*a good account of some farmer's stackyard having been burnt down!*' Thus, then, we see the whole case—we know what we have, and we are allowed a glimpse of what we are to get. We have the freest, the ablest, the most powerful press in the world; but—by reason of its not being invariably courteous to eloquent gentlemen in Parliament—its place is to be given to a press that will, as a necessity of its position, restrict itself to being minute upon murders, and facetious upon rick-burning.

It would surely be superfluous to enter on arguments showing that the British newspaper press, such as it is, free, copious, and able in *discussion*, has long been, is now, and probably will be for ever, the very life-blood of our political system; and that those propose the infliction of a national calamity,—a violence to the national tastes, habits, and interests,—who thus propose to destroy the press as an engine of discussion, and to relegate political speech and power solely to the platform and the inverted tub. If that fact admitted of doubt, or required discussion, it would not be necessary to range over a larger period than that embraced in Mr. Cobden's own not very protracted public life, to find that, without the press, the platform sometimes could not exist at all, and sometimes would exist only for evil. There was a time, not long ago,—though Mr. Cobden seems to have forgotten it,—before the platform could come into play, and when the press was the only means of keeping alive and advancing the great cause with which his name is for ever associated—when League lecturers were pumped upon in the agricultural districts, and even in manufacturing towns Mr. Cobden himself could scarcely hold a meeting without a protection, by tickets, from Chartist and Protectionist inroads;—and, for thirty years previously, this use of the press had been exemplified in the history of the whole class of questions of Reform. There is a time at present—and Mr. Cobden seems to know it too sensitively—after the platform has begun to run riot, and when the press makes a stand against crudities and quackeries. The platform is good, though not better than the press, when public attention is aroused and public favour gained, but in evil days the platform sinks away. It is in a discussional press, as in an ark, that good causes are preserved when in adversity, and from it, as from an entrench-

ment, that bad ones are assailed when they are prosperous. All this is known to every man that has kept his eyes and understanding open these thirty years. The press as it is—as contradistinguished from what Mr. Cobden would have it to be—is the chief engine through which during this generation political reforms have been wrought in a country where political reforms have been more numerous, peaceful, and beneficial than in any other; and—now that the object is avowed—there may, perhaps, be fewer persons disposed to aid any change which tends to substitute for an engine so safe and so effective either the French barricade or the American ‘stump.’

ART. VIII. — *Life of Benjamin Robert Haydon, Historical Painter, with his Autobiography and Journals.* Edited and compiled by TOM TAYLOR, of the Inner Temple, Esq. 3 vols. London: 1853.

THIS is a sadly suggestive, a painfully instructive, book. As a revelation of a morbid spirit, as a psychological *fact*, there has been scarce anything since the days of Rousseau to compare with it. Of course we speak without reference to the immorality which deforms the work of that celebrated writer. From any such corruption this book, right manly and English with all its faults, is wholly free. But otherwise, in melancholy interest, in picturesque and vigorous writing, in graphic touches of character, in the conscious exposition of feelings, and the quite unconscious exposition of failings, such as men usually keep earthed up and hidden deep from sight, we question whether the famous ‘Confessions’ would not sometimes pale in comparison. Considered merely as a contribution to the history of the Fine Arts in this country, the book has also a peculiar value. Certainly no retrospect of the progress of Art or of opinion as relates to Art during the last forty years, could be written without reference to the remarkable and unfortunate man who stands self-portrayed before us in this extraordinary piece of biography. Haydon overrated himself every way, which is, perhaps, one reason why he was underrated by others. As a *power*, both artistic and literary, he was in his own time quite misapprehended. By some regarded as a wild enthusiast, who injured his own cause by his exaggerated pretensions and self-opiniated advocacy. By almost all who had begun by admiring and aiding him shunned at last as a most unprincipled and shameless beggar. By not a few denounced as an absolute madman; and, in truth, there seems to have existed from the

first that disproportion in the structure of his mind which tends to eventual insanity. But the history of our national progress during the last half century is now receding into distance. It assumes as a picture its due gradation of light and shade; the figures take their proper place and comparative prominence; and now it has really become a question whether Haydon, with all his inordinate egotism, *did* overrate the importance of his objects, though he may have overrated his own ability to achieve them. His mistake, his misfortune, lay in the self-willed arrogance which, perpetually irritated by contradiction and stimulated by opposition, saw only Haydon 'wherever he looked, wherever he moved,' as the great first cause, the *primum mobile*, of the grand revolution he meditated; whereas there were many other existing causes, all tending to the same result, — elements in which and through which he might have worked instead of setting them, as he did, in opposition against himself. Still, when we review the rise and progress of that comprehensive and enlightened code of criticism to which Lessing and Goethe had given the first impulse in Germany, we see Haydon standing out among us here, not owing any thing to the great Germans, not even taking up the same ground, yet in his own way an original thinker, a powerful writer, a passionate pleader for the true objects and interests of his art, a daring exposé of the mean mistaken aims and subserviency of artists; a fearless denouncer of the short-sighted neglect and consummate ignorance of those in high places who had to decide on the ultimate uses of the Fine Arts, as a part of the culture of a people, and their protection and encouragement as a part of the duty of a government. These ideas sound trite at present; they were then new. The fashionable faith of our day was then the creed of a small set of pioneers, ill understood by others, not always understanding themselves. Haydon led this forlorn hope with an impetuosity which threw him quite beyond the reach of less ardent, less sanguine spirits. It is not his eminence as an artist, but the story of his relations with Art — his battles with the Academy, his intercourse with painters, with patrons, with poets, with men of letters and statesmen — these form the artistic and historical value of the book. The man's peculiar idiosyncrasy, his undoubted talent, his really noble aspirations, and the terrible demonstration before us that, thus richly gifted, thus loftily ambitious, thus undauntedly persevering, his career was a wretched failure, ending in self-inflicted death — these form the moral interest of the book. Under both aspects it is full of matter, and might well claim,

with the concomitant and contemporary interests touched upon, more ample consideration than can be given to it here.

We observe that among the critics who have been, we must think prudishly, severe in their strictures on this remarkable book, some are shocked by the tragic depth, the pitiable weakness, the careless indiscretion of the revelations contained in it, and have thence decided that it has been prematurely given to the world. Others go so far as to pronounce that it ought not to have been published at all. From such critics we differ wholly. We account it good service to the cause of truth generally, and of Art particularly, that this strange history, with all its manifold faults and mistakes, has seen the light. We think it could hardly have appeared at a more fitting moment than now, amid the awakened interest and keen discussion in and out of Parliament bearing on the very topics which fill its pages. We do not cavil with Mr. Tom Taylor for suppressing what he has suppressed, since the whole, as it now stands, coheres into completeness in story and character, at least sufficiently so for the best uses to be derived from either. But we are especially thankful that he has not been led, by the scruples of others or his own, to suppress more. It has been said that pain has been inflicted, or may be inflicted, on many worthy and sensitive people by certain allusions to them or their friends, or their relations to the sixth degree of cousinship, and therefore this and similar publications involve a moral wrong of which public morality should take cognisance. We really do not see the question in this serious point of view. Those who read these volumes through—and read aright the peculiar temperament of the man—will surely not be guided in their estimate of character by any opinion of his, however honest in intent, nor rely on the accuracy of his portraiture, however vivid. No fear, we think, that our idea of the wit and the wisdom of Sydney Smith should be lowered because Haydon saw in him only the ‘careless cassock,’ the ‘jocular parson.’ Sir George Beaumont remains to us the accomplished gentleman, the generous, amiable patron and judge of Art, though brought into collision with the unruly self-love of his wayward *protégé*. Mr. William Hamilton’s beneficent nature and exquisite taste shine out not the less because of the passing ungrateful sneer which Haydon, in one of his distempered moods, bestows upon his much enduring friend. If Mr. Taylor has suppressed many notices of this kind, no doubt he has been guided by deliberate reflection and good feeling; but we really think that in most cases it will be found to have been superfluous as regards the reputation or

the feelings of the supposed victims, and, if a charity at all, one only to the memory of the author.

For, with regard to the autobiographies of distinguished men, it is undeniable that no portrait drawn of a man of genius equals in truth, and therefore often in severity, that which unconsciously and involuntarily he exhibits of himself. Let him suppress what he may, let him excuse what he can, let him throw over his actions and motives whatever colouring may be derived from the most ingenious logic, aided by the most captivating graces of style, he will yet reveal such unmistakeable features of the inner self that he shall be more justly judged out of his own words than by any portrait which the ablest, most acute, most impartial of observers could have drawn of him. There are abysses of passion and of pain which no observer can fathom; impelling motives of which no observer can estimate the force; associated influences of which no observer can trace the link. The man himself uses the best gifts with which God has graced him to hold up the mirror truly to himself, as if driven by some power, some pressure from within, which is not conscience, rather an instinct, a fatality, arising out of the very structure of his being. We have alluded to Rousseau. Who could have painted that compound of mud and fire as he has painted himself? Who could have placed before us the meanness, profligacy, vanity, falsehood, the utter degradation of that most miserable and most gifted of the sons of men with such a wondrous truth? Who that knew Moore, the lively, ever welcome, genial singer of Ireland, would have ventured—in the slang phrase—to ‘show him up’ as he has ‘shown up’ himself? His bitterest enemy, we think, would not have had the heart, certainly not the power, to do it. Such men, under such influences, become like the unwilling prophet of old, unconscious utterers of the truths they see not, and ‘wiser than they know.’

But it will be said that such revelations, even when spontaneous, and authorised, are dishonouring to our common nature, inasmuch as they lower at once our standard of virtue and our estimate of genius, or rather our estimate of the men on whom genius has been bestowed; and that it is a killing blow to our faith in good if we must needs behold in the ‘greatest—wisest,’ also the ‘meanest of mankind.’ It may be answered, in the first place, that nothing *can* dishonour our common nature which enlightens us as to its true conditions; nothing *can* lower our moral standard which enlarges our moral sympathies. And secondly, that it is a too common mistake to defer to the

opinions and feelings of gifted men on all subjects because they have shown themselves great in some,—to set them up as gods indeed, because they have given forth one or two divine oracles. Better is it that we should learn discrimination in our hero-worship: better that we hold fast to the principles that truth in the long run is worth the price, *whatever* it may be, that we are called on to pay for it. Do we despond over our beautiful idols cast down to earth before the coming of the purer, the diviner light? Let us remember that the inestimable gain to the future is worth the present loss to ourselves. It is through such data as these before us,—painful often, and often humiliating,—that we shall at length be enabled to solve some of those momentous problems in ethics and education, on the solution of which the moral well being of mankind as a race must ultimately depend. What is understood as yet of the training of genius and exceptional character? How are we to recognise their presence and their power before it be too late, before we are called upon to answer the fearful question as to how far excelling and commanding genius shall be at once indulged and outlawed? Would it not be well that men of rare endowments should know, and lay to heart, that henceforth they shall be amenable to the rising moral sense of mankind? that henceforth they shall not skulk behind their glory to conceal their shame, nor plead their great gifts in extenuation of judgment? that those who in life have not feared the ‘everlasting face to face ‘with God,’ must stand, after life, face to face with humanity, and answer, like the dead Egyptian kings, its appeal against them? ‘Cruel,’ will it be said? Yes, as all that is immutable, all that is inevitable, all that is inexorable in God’s moral law seems *cruel* where we have to make the application in particular cases, be it in that of a Bacon, a Rousseau, a Byron, or in that of a poor, distracted, self-immolated Haydon.

There is another lesson conveyed in this book and others of its kind, and one of not less solemn import. They enlarge our experience of the conditions on which men of an anomalous temperament, or devoted to some one soul-absorbing pursuit, may hope to preserve unimpaired mental and moral health. In common with many who knew Haydon in the later years of his life, we had the impression that his mind was disordered. No one, we think, can read this autobiography without a conviction that the seeds of disease were early to be traced in an organisation from the first distempered and disproportioned, and that the latent evil was developed by sudden vicissitudes of fortune, by the wear and tear of an unquiet life, and an

habitual neglect of all the conditions of physical health. It is clear that he had a mournful consciousness of the dangerous tendencies of his own mind. In more than one place we find dark communings with himself as to the causes, and the right or wrong of suicide, as if his fate had been foreshadowed, as if in the midst of triumphant anticipation a spectre of despair were looming in the distance. Frequently he alludes to his want of early training as one cause of his arrogance and obstinacy; 'Why did I not yield?' he says, on the occasion of his quarrel with Sir George Beaumont, 'because my mind wanted the discipline of early training. I trace all the misfortunes of my life to this early and irremediable want; my will had not been curbed, or my will was too stubborn to submit to curbing.'—'Perhaps,' he adds, 'mine is a character in which all the parts would have harmonised if my will had been broken early.' Such self-justification we reject while a man is living, while he can give us blow after blow on the heart, and then plead as an excuse for obstinacy in wrong his want of early training. But when he is dead, and can no longer injure or wound, we are willing to admit—not without a sigh of compassion and forgiveness—the validity of the plea.

It does not suit, however, with all men to stand up before the bar of posterity either self-excused or self-condemned. How many, rather than plead at all, would call on the darkness to shroud them and the hills to cover them! The publication of recent memoirs, and the comments to which they have given rise, have dismayed some people remarkable for nice scruples, if not for high principles. There has ensued, it is said, of late a vast burning of papers, letters, private journals, and such memoranda. Be it so. Burn by all means. But of utterances out of the heart and life of man addressed to man, there will always be enough, and more than enough. The same strong human sympathies which crave to know, prompt also to reveal. Vanity *will* not refrain; passion *will* not be silent; conviction *will* speak; anguish, which has bled in silence, *will* utter at last the long-suppressed cry, if not for justice—if not for pity—yet for relief:—'As the beast crieth, expansive not appealing;' and the echoes of humanity will catch it up, and respond to it, as they do now to this wild reproachful voice, startling us from the tomb.

The narrative before us is divided into two parts; we have, first, Haydon's autobiography from his birth to his thirty-sixth year. It appears to have been compiled partly from recollec-

tion, partly from his voluminous journals, kept with great regularity from an early age. He prefaces this narrative by a short introduction, in which he gives his reasons for writing it — reasons sufficiently indicative of the morbid feelings under which it was written: —

‘Every man who has suffered for a principle and would lose his life for its success—who in his early days has been oppressed without ever giving the slightest ground for oppression, and persecuted to ruin because his oppression was unmerited—who has incurred the hatred of his enemies exactly in proportion as they became convinced they were wrong—every man who, like me, has eaten the bitter crust of poverty and endured the penalties of vice and wretchedness when he merited the rewards of virtue and industry—should write his own life.’ (Introduction, p. i.)

The date of this autobiography is not given, but from internal evidence it appears to have been written at different times, some part of it so late as 1843, when he was fifty-seven. It is obvious that Haydon, as his editor expresses it, ‘believed himself a hero, and thought that all the world would believe it when these records came to light.’ In this belief they do not differ from other memoir writers who imagine that the aspect under which they choose to regard their own conduct is that which will be accepted by posterity. They are mistaken, however. Where a man excuses and defends himself, we readily pardon the self-love—it is natural: where he makes avowal of error, or worse, we receive it as spoken in confidence—reproach is disarmed: but in neither case is the ultimate judgment of posterity either blinded or averted.

The second and third volumes continue the personal history, chiefly by extracts from his journals, with occasional letters; Haydon being everywhere, and as far as possible, the sole exponent of his own character and feelings. The passages taken from the journals are connected, where necessary, by short portions of narrative, supplied by the editor, and written with much calm good sense, and in a just and gentle spirit towards his subject; but with little of sympathy, and still less of approval. It is clear that Mr. Tom Taylor has not deemed it a part of his duty to point out absurdities, to reconcile discrepancies, or to excuse delinquencies. It is to be regretted that some things which are known to be false, or at least so tinged by Haydon’s mood when most moody, as to be unworthy of credit, should have gone forth to the world without some protest, some explanation on the part of the editor. This, if not due to individuals, was due to the cause of truth and justice generally. Then we do not understand why some names are sheltered under ini-

tials, and others given at full length. Still less why the same names are in one place given at length, and in another suppressed. Why Edwin Landseer may not 'ride up Bond Street 'on a blood horse' without being disguised under a couple of dashes; why a distinguished critic and *littérateur*, of whom nothing is recorded that is not only honourable to his character, but *personally* complimentary, should be exhibited under a thin alphabetical disguise pervious to the dimmest capacity, we profess ourselves unable to divine. The want of any heading to the chapters, any table of contents, any help whatever to reference, where the matter is so multifarious and desultory, is a great inconvenience. There are other mistakes and oversights, which will probably be corrected in a future edition. On the whole, however, a very difficult task has been executed, we think, with meritorious good faith and good feeling. All editorial responsibility has been lightened by the fact that Haydon was in the habit of keeping daily memoranda. Here also he has given his reasons for doing so:—

'I acquired,' he says, 'in early life a great love of the journals of others, and Johnson's recommendation to keep them honestly I always bore in mind. I have kept one now for thirty-four years. It is the history, in fact, of my mind; and in all my lectures I had only to refer to them for such and such opinions—to look when such and such thoughts had occurred, and I found my journals an absolute capital to draw upon. I hope that my journals, if ever they are thought worthy of publication, may give as much pleasure to others as other journals have given delight to me.'

This passage and some others show that Haydon contemplated the publication of his papers, and on them rested his hopes of posthumous justice. We conceive, however, that had he been a really *great* artist in his profession, he would not have made his appeal to posterity in words. It was said of him, that 'if he had been more intent on painting good pictures and less intent on persuading the world that he painted good pictures, he had been a wiser man.' But it is fair to say that no one could have been more intent on learning and doing, as well as talking and writing—no one could labour more earnestly and diligently in his calling. His memoranda will at least have this good effect: they will give to the ignorant and the unthinking some idea of the struggles, the sorrows, the vicissitudes, the crosses, and the cares which wait on those who work with hand and brain: the artist class—for whom fame is not only identical with *love*, but alas! also with *bread*. Such better knowledge will lead to sympathy; and such sympathy will not be

lessened by the pity which is here excited by failure, nor by the condemnation which waits on error. Some of these minute details, carrying us through the history of a picture from the moment it was 'rubbed in' to its completion, have an almost dramatic interest. If we possessed, with regard to any great work of art of world-wide fame, the same exact memoranda that Haydon has given us of his Judgment of Solomon or the Entry into Jerusalem—if, for instance, we could read of the daily progress of the School of Athens or the Heliodorus—of the models employed—of the books studied—of the various alterations suggested or adopted—the celebrities of the time who sat for the various heads—Urbino, Castiglione, Bramante, and how they looked and talked—what a record had it been!—what an inestimable value would the wondrous beauty and renown of the work itself have lent to every trifling detail! But with regard to Haydon, it is just the reverse. The notices given here may lend an interest to the picture, even to its shortcomings and mistakes; but the picture will hardly lend value to the notes. If the painter's hand could have executed what he willed and aspired to do, whole pages had not been filled with the description of what he intended to do; or would, or could, or might have done—and did *not* do. As it has been well observed, 'failures detract little from the reputation of those who have really done great things;' but it was the misfortune of Haydon that he never did anything great enough to make us forget his failures. Often, in describing what he means to do, he places a far finer picture before the mind's eye than his hand could realise. The sublime shapes which throng his fancy in the hour of meditation, when he sits down to his easel refuse to wait upon his summons. It is not that he could not give to those spirits a form; he could not give to forms a spirit to lift them to the height of his own conception. They sank down and remained of the earth, earthy. The *materialism* of his pictures is their worst fault.

But we must pause in these general criticisms on Haydon's personality, as man and artist, to enter upon the subject matter of the book. So much of its peculiar charm and interest and significance depend on the author's own peculiar style of narrative, with all its passionate redundancies, its vigorous colloquial English, its repetitions and contradictions, that, as a matter of justice, we must refer the reader to the original work if he would have a true picture of the man. Our object for the present is to give such a rapid and condensed view of Haydon's career as an artist as shall illustrate the history of Art during the last forty years, and explain the circumstances

which lifted him during his life into considerable reputation and notoriety. The publication of these memoirs is likely, both at home and abroad, to add to his reputation and enhance notoriety into celebrity; not indeed the celebrity he coveted, which he pertinaciously and grandiloquently claimed and anticipated, but a celebrity shadowed by pain, by pity, and by a not unmerited reprobation.

Benjamin Robert Haydon — HISTORICAL PAINTER, as he loved to designate himself — was born at Plymouth in the year 1786. His father, descended from an old but decayed Devonshire family, carried on the business of a bookseller in his native town. Young Haydon showed almost in infancy a turn for drawing and imitation, in which he was assisted by one of his father's apprentices, and by an Italian bookbinder who was employed in the shop, and who 'set the boy on fire with talk of Italy, Raphael, and the Vatican.' He owed much also to Dr. Bidlake, the master of the grammar school, who, not satisfied, it seems, with teaching his boys a little Latin and less Greek, imparted some smattering of such pursuits as he himself delighted in — music, drawing, and natural history — took them out sketching, and seems altogether to have been a most rare and eccentric schoolmaster for those days. When the time came for young Haydon to assist his father in his business, he threw the whole family into consternation by refusing to serve behind the counter, and declared his resolve to go up to London and become a painter. In vain his father represented the imprudence of giving up a profitable business for an uncertain profession. As vainly did his too indulgent mother plead that she rested on him, her only son, her hopes for the future; and Haydon acknowledges that hers had not been up to that time by any means a happy, or even a tranquil, existence. 'He *would* be a painter!' Had Haydon really accomplished his boyish dream, had he become what he conceived himself destined to be — a Raphael, a Michael Angelo, a Titian combined in one, 'the glory of England and of modern Art,' such early resolution had been recorded as the prophetic self-assertion of conscious greatness, whereas, in contrast with the result, it strikes us rather as the conceit and obstinacy of a headstrong boy. He began his career at least characteristically by purchasing, against his father's will, a copy of 'Albinus' (an expensive anatomical work with superb plates), and sending it home to his father to be paid for; and having obtained all he wanted, and extracted from his parents a reluctant consent, he set off for London, at the age of eighteen, 'his head full of Sir

'Joshua, drawing, dissection, and High Art.' We must do Haydon the justice to record that on his arrival in London, a raw youth, without 'guide, philosopher, or friend,' he did not fall into dissipation or idleness; he set to work with that mixture of impetuosity and dogged determination which was in his nature. For three months he shut himself up, seeing 'nothing but his books, his casts, and his drawings.' He was once, he says, so long without speaking to a human creature, that 'his gums became painfully sore from the clenched tightness of his teeth.' Some one who found him stretched on the floor of his room, and poring over his 'Albinus,' went away with the idea that he was 'quite mad.' He had resolved to be a great painter, to unite in himself all the excellences which had separately distinguished the greatest painters of old—'form, 'light and shadow, colour, expression,'—and in the end surpass them all!

After months of intense study, he recollected that he had a letter of introduction to Prince Hoare, who in turn introduced him to Northcote and Opie. He describes with much life and humour his reception by both. The captious, sardonic, misanthropic insolence of Northcote—'laughing like an imp.' The manly, but somewhat saturnine, good sense and good nature of Opie, and the hatred of the two men for each other. He received good advice from both, neutralised perhaps by the fact that the counsel given by the one was in direct opposition to that given by the other. The elder Smirke also gave him sensible encouragement and admonition; 'but it is curious,' he says, 'the power I had of sifting all advice, and discarding 'every thing which interfered with my own decisions.' West was at that time President of the Royal Academy. He professed High Art—the highest Art—and was the best specimen we could show in that line. As Liszt once said of Moscheles, 'Il représentait la *respectabilité* de la profession.' He was truly a respectable old man, who sat down to paint the tremendous mysteries and terrors of the 'Apocalypse' as serenely secure in his own power as if the muse of Milton and the eagle-spirit of St. John had been seated together at his elbow. Fuseli, his antipodes, with too much of every thing which West wanted, was keeper of the Academy. No one could accuse *him* of respectability. He had learning and genius, but a reputation in regard to temper, morals, and manners, which inspired Haydon with terror, as of 'a sort of gifted wild beast.' But Fuseli, with all his asperities and eccentricities, was of use to the young student, and, in his way, even kind to him. The gentle and elegant minded Stothard was living and working in

the retirement he loved, chiefly occupied in making designs for books. Lawrence and Hoppner were the fashionable portrait painters. Jackson,—at this time a young man of six or seven and twenty, rising in reputation; Wilkie, Etty, Hilton, Mulready, were students; Landseer, Leslie, Eastlake, were in their boyhood. Barry was living, but in a state of seclusion, which, combined with his morbid temper and eccentric habits, gave some colour to the report that he was deranged. Over his successes and his failures, his turbulent arrogance, his magnificent views, his battles with antiquaries, academicians, and patrons of art, the scene was now closing fast. He died shortly afterwards, and Haydon and Wilkie went together to see the unhappy painter lie in state at the Adelphi; but they went as to a *spectacle*, and Haydon, in the flush of youth, health, and ambition, never dreamed that his own career would so nearly resemble that of the dead man sleeping under his pall, to conclude with even a deeper reverse and a darker tragedy.

While absent from London, called home by his father's dangerous illness, Jackson wrote to him, 'There is a raw, tall, pale Scotchman come up; an odd fellow, but there is something in him; he is called Wilkie.' This was sufficient to fix Haydon's attention when they afterwards met in the Academy. 'I watched him come in,' said Haydon; 'we sat and drew in silence for some time; at length Wilkie rose, looked over my shoulder, said nothing, and sat down. I went and looked over his shoulder, and sat down again. We had seen enough to satisfy us of each other's skill, and when the class broke up we went and dined together.' Such was the beginning of this strange intimacy between two men so dissimilar; an intimacy based as it should seem in contrasts, rather than in sympathies, often clouded, yet never severed, faithful if not constant. Haydon makes merry with Wilkie's oddities, fiercely resents his occasional neglects and chilling caution, and acknowledges, characteristically, that 'Wilkie's reputation often disturbed his peace,' but loved him notwithstanding, appreciated his talents, and heartily enjoyed his triumphs. The two friends became almost inseparable, studied together, breakfasted, dined, went to the theatres, ranged the London streets together; and Haydon records, with excusable satisfaction, that at this period they were neither of them tempted into vice, and that in after life they dwelt on this recollection with mutual respect and pleasure. 'No doubt,' says Haydon, 'an Etonian, or a Winchester, or a Rugby boy will laugh at this, but with us it was a fact. At twenty I had an object which sustained me far above the temptations of a London life.' Both the young men had a deep sense of

religion: that of Wilkie was the severe Presbyterianism of his country; that of Haydon somewhat peculiar, tintured, we suspect, by his mother's High Church enthusiasm and his own excitable temperament. He says, 'at this time I never rose without prayer, and never retired without it, and occasionally in the day time, in the fervour of conception, I inwardly asked a blessing on my designs.' These prayers and religious outpourings, without which he never begun or ended a picture, are plentifully scattered through the pages of his journals. How is it that we are so edified when we read of the old monkish painters imploring, on bended knees, a blessing on their work, and that we read these prayers of Haydon with a sort of shrinking? Is it that they want humility?—that they are more like adjurations than supplications?—passionate appeals for what he needed or desired, hurled upwards, as it were, with a strange vehemence, as if he would have taken Heaven's mercy by storm? While reading them we are irresistibly reminded of the exclamation of Rosalba*, when she looked, with soft eyes wide open, after Sir Godfrey Kneller, who had been, as usual, swaggering and boasting in her *atelier*—'This man can have no religion, for he has no modesty!' Yet we cannot doubt that Haydon's religion was, in its kind, perfectly sincere; that the Almighty was to him—as to Dr. Johnson and other men of undoubted piety—an almost material impersonation of power, in whom he implicitly believed, and 'that this belief influenced his inward life, his relations with his family, and, so far as his necessities did not interfere, with the world.' If Dr. Johnson, in the prayers and ejaculations which fill the pages of his Diary, may invoke the Almighty against his bilious melancholy, beseech help in 'early rising,' and return thanks for 'all the comforts he had received in the friendship of Anna Williams,' why should it give offence that Haydon should pray for success in his cartoon, and return thanks for being enabled, through Divine help, to give the right expression to a head? It may seem absurd to compare the poor painter and the lofty moralist. Yet in both was not the piety equally unspiritual and equally tintured by the individual temperament? We return to our narrative.

Jackson, who was intimate with Haydon and Wilkie, was at this time especially patronised by Lord Mulgrave, and, with a generous unselfish feeling, introduced both to his noble friend; Haydon also obtained the notice of Sir George Beaumont, and interested Lady Beaumont by his liveliness, frankness, and

* The celebrated crayon painter.

genuine enthusiasm. He was asked to dinner, and describes very humorously his trepidation on this his first entrance into fashionable life—how he dressed, and redressed, and brushed up his hair, and looked in the glass, and studied the cut of his coat, and acted over his *début*, and ‘wished that his mother ‘could see him!’ But once in Lady Beaumont’s drawing-room, his self-esteem placed him quite at ease—perhaps rather too much so. Another and more serious matter for trepidation was the sending his first picture to the Exhibition. It was a ‘*Riposo*,’ painted before he was one-and-twenty. Like other young beginners, he thought every eye would be on his picture, and was full of those ‘cursed torturing anxieties’ which a youth of a less excitable character might be excused for feeling. His friend Northcote would have hung him up close to the ceiling. His friend Fuseli interfered in his behalf: ‘Why,’ said he, ‘you are sending him to heaven before his time! take him ‘down! dat is shameful!’ So he was taken down, and for this time reprieved. The picture, one of great promise, was afterwards purchased by Mr. Thomas Hope. Haydon records, with affectionate exultation, the success of Wilkie’s ‘*Blind Fiddler*,’ in the same exhibition (1807)—as the centre of attraction, and ‘deserving to be so.’

The letters which Sir George Beaumont addressed to him and to Wilkie about this time are excellent for the profound appreciation of the difficulties and triumphs of Art, and a true sympathy with the artist; they are, besides, written with much elegance. His advice, however, must be taken ‘with a difference.’ For instance, his reasons for choosing subjects from history rather than from the poets, are excellent as addressed to such a man as Haydon, but would only have misled or encumbered such a man as Stothard, whose genius was so essentially lyrical that he impressed this character on every thing he painted, who seemed born to illustrate fiction and poetry, and whose historical and religious pictures bear the same relation to High Art that one of Metastasio’s operas bear to tragedy. But these speculations would carry us far out of our way; we resume our story.

There are some sketches of Haydon’s student life at this time over which we would gladly linger; for instance, the description of the circle of young men who used to assemble of an evening at Wilkie’s lodgings in Rathbone Place. Wilkie himself, Scotch and careful—‘reserved, yet argumentative—unlettered, but kindled by a steady flame of genius.’ Haydon energetic, ambitious, full of grand ideas, and romantic hopes, eloquent and overbearing. Du Fresne, an accomplished French-

man, gay and careless, a scholar, a musician, an artist. William Allen — since Sir William — full of Scotch humour and lively anecdote; with others of less note; all young — ardent — poor. And the only woman among them, a certain ‘Lizzy,’ who lodged on the second floor, and made tea for them. ‘The position,’ says Haydon, ‘of this generous-hearted girl, though somewhat anomalous, was perfectly innocent.’ She listened to all; sympathised with all; but kept all at a distance. Ultimately she married the Frenchman, and disappeared, heaven knows whither.

The news of his mother’s illness interrupted for a time his artistic pursuits. The account of the death of this good mother, the sketch of her early life, and of her deaf and dumb lover, is one of the best and most pathetic passages in the book. We cannot give it at length, and should only mar it by compression. Haydon laid his mother in the grave with honest filial tears, returned to London, and ‘prepared to renew the battle of life.’

He began his picture of Siccus Dentatus, the old Roman hero, who, when attacked by the satellites of the Decemvirs, set his back against a rock, and sold his life dearly. Haydon does not tell us how or when he was led to choose this subject, full of fierce action, but destitute of repose, of grace, or any variety of sentiment. The choice was certainly characteristic. While preparing his picture, he spared no pains; made elaborate studies of heads, limbs, armour, and meditated deeply on the theory of his art. He was puzzled by the differences between nature and the antique, and knew not how to harmonise them. The Academy could not help him. His models showed him one thing — his teachers another. So he blundered impatient along the barren beaten path, bewildered with theories of beauty and form, vainly in search of some guiding principle to steer by. ‘If I copied nature,’ he says, ‘my work was mean; if I left her, mannered.’ While he was thus astray, the Elgin Marbles arrived in England; and he went casually, with his friend Wilkie, to visit them.

We are now so accustomed to look up to these majestic relics sitting god-like on their pedestals, or floating like a sublime vision, group after group, along the walls, in all their acknowledged grandeur, and to test the lofty pretensions of Greek art by their unquestioned excellence, that we can hardly imagine a time when they were lying in Lord Elgin’s yard in Park Lane, to be profaned by foolish critics, misnamed by blundering antiquaries, and undervalued by gaping academicians; while others, provoked by such fatuity, fell into the opposite extreme, and

raved about them rather as intoxicated by their beauty than as truly understanding their value and significance as works of art. Lord Liverpool and his official advisers, confounded by the 'din,' and wondering at the public excitement about a parcel of mutilated fragments, afraid to decide, afraid of being taken in, showed the uncertainty of judgment which marked many of their more important public acts.

That Haydon had thought deeply, inquired earnestly, and felt truly in regard to the principles of his art, was proved by the fervent enthusiasm with which he at once hailed these divine relics. He was as clear-sighted as he was unhesitating in the judgment he pronounced. Here was demonstrated the possible harmony between the essential truth of nature, and the highest ideal in art. No longer *in alto mare senza governo*, even while he drank in the beauty of these wonderful monuments, he was sufficiently prepared by his early studies to perceive and interpret the principles on which they were executed.

'Now,' he says, exulting, '*now* was I mad for buying Albinus without a penny to pay for it! *now* was I mad for lying on the floor hours together copying its figures! I felt the future, I foretold that these marbles would prove themselves the finest things on earth, that they would overturn the false *beau idéal* where Nature is nothing, and would establish the true *beau idéal*, of which Nature alone is the basis. I do not say this now, when all the world acknowledges it; but I said it then, *when no one would believe me.*' (Vol. i. p. 85.)

And in another place, after years of study and contemplation, he breaks out into a mingled invocation and thanksgiving:—

'Every day and every hour they grow more exquisite to me; I thank God for being in existence on their arrival. May they take deep root in my nature! may their spirit be interwoven in my soul! may their essence be mingled in my blood and circulate through my being! may I never think of Form, select from Nature, draw a line or paint a touch without instinctive reference to these exquisite productions!'

He tells us that, after seeing these marbles for the first time, he returned home, looked at his figure of Dentatus with absolute disgust, seized his brush, dashed it all out in a fury, then threw himself on his bed, and dreamed of the Ilyssus. During the next few months he studied constantly at Lord Elgin's, drawing sometimes fifteen hours a day. We find him, while his 'Dentatus' was in progress, alternately obliterating his work in fits of angry self-condemnation; and then, with like inconsistency, exulting in his own capability 'to paint like Titian — 'draw like Michael Angelo.' But we sigh while we read. For in spite of the Elgin Marbles — in spite of his admirable theories

of excellence — in spite of labour never spared, and perseverance never daunted — his picture of Dentatus, with many fine points and energetic drawing, is violent, mannered, in some parts even caricatured. It has a sort of forced abortive greatness, which is very disagreeable, as if the tumult in the artist's mind, and the effort it cost him, made themselves felt while we look at it.

Lord Mulgrave now 'took him up,' as the phrase is. He dined at the Admiralty three times a week, and fancied himself a great, a very great man. When the 'Dentatus' was finished, Lord Mulgrave purchased it. It was, however, ill placed in the Academy Exhibition, which Haydon, of course, attributed to the ill-will of his 'enemies;' was severely criticised; and Lord Mulgrave's pride was hurt. He began to mistrust his own judgment—he even treated the artist with coolness. Haydon's depression was equal to his exultation—his conviction of his own merit could not sustain him. He fell into a melancholy, fancied himself under a curse, became sullen—retiring—silent. His friends feared for his brain. He left London for a time, assisted by Lord Mulgrave, and accompanied by his friend Wilkie.

On his return with restored health and spirits, he began his picture of 'Macbeth' for Sir George Beaumont; and he records, with the usual alternations of self-complacency and self-torment, the progress of his picture. We shall not follow him. Sir George was not satisfied either with the size or the treatment of the subject, and the result was a painful disagreement between the painter and the patron, of which it is unnecessary to say more than that Haydon was clearly in fault.

While painting the 'Macbeth,' he found himself, as usual, without money. His father could no longer help him; but he anticipated for his picture the Institution prize of three hundred guineas, and borrowed for his immediate wants; 'and here,' he says, '*began debt and obligation out of which I never have been and never shall be extricated as long as I live.*' The italics are his own, and the sentence, which refers to 1807, was written, as it appears, about 1843. The first step in debt is too often like the first step in falsehood; it involves the necessity of proceeding in the same course, and debt follows debt, as surely as lie follows lie.

The 'Macbeth' was sent to the British Institution, but obtained no prize: we have a perfect recollection of the unfavourable impression it made on the public. The attitude of Macbeth, in the act of staggering back when about to enter the chamber of Duncan, struck the eye as awkward and un-

graceful even to painfulness. In the end Sir George disliked the picture, and refused to pay for it.

Exasperated by his debts and disappointments, Haydon now plunged into contention and controversy. He began a series of attacks against the Royal Academy on the score of incapacity, illiberality, petty intrigues, indifference to the higher branches of art, ignorance of the value of the Elgin Marbles, and ungenerous treatment of young artists, particularly Wilkie. His acquaintance with John and Leigh Hunt opened to him the columns of the 'Examiner'; and if something of bitterness and vindictiveness mingled with his accusations, they were not wholly undeserved. The sensible, cautious Wilkie endeavoured to stop this rash outpouring of zeal. 'Hunt,' said he, 'gets his living by such things, you will lose all chance of it. It is very fine to be a reformer, but be one with your pencil, and not with your pen.' Haydon never could have been a reformer with his pencil. Of this neither himself nor Wilkie was aware. The idea of being a Luther or a John Knox in art had for the moment superseded the ambition of being the English Michael Angelo or Raphael. He was unmanageable by reasoning or persuasion. If his assaults were vigorous, his adversaries were strong; they had power and custom on their side; on his were right reason, fearless audacity, inflexible will. He was warned that if he persisted he would be crushed in all his hopes at the age of twenty-six. He made up his mind for the conflict, and ordered a larger canvas for a larger work.

This was the 'Judgment of Solomon;' the idea of the composition had occurred to him when he was not more than nineteen. The very day on which he threw his sketch upon the large canvas he describes himself as in want of a dinner. He owed his landlord 200*l.*; he was in debt to many others,—friends who had assisted him, poor tradesmen who could ill afford to lose. He seems to have inspired them all with his sanguine hopes, or talked them over with that irresistible logic in which he excelled. His good-natured landlord told him 'not to fret, but to work.' The master of an eating-house he had long frequented, begged of him to be under no apprehensions for a dinner. The description of the scene with this excellent man and good Christian is really one of the most touching things in the book. Thus relieved from immediate want,—assured at least of food and shelter,—Haydon set to with energy, and worked till his health broke down. Then after an interval of rest, during which he was generously assisted by the Hunts, he set to work again; and thus toiling, fighting, hoping, exulting, struggling, he got through this year (1812). His landlord's

kindness continued, though he had now received no rent for several years.

‘Of people of fashion,’ he says, ‘I saw not one, nor did I condescend to appeal to them for aid. They had first brought me into high life when I had done nothing to deserve the elevation, and then deserted me when I had done something to merit notice. I worked away, always happy, trusting in God, believing myself expressly inspired by Him for a great purpose, which I never lost sight of!’

While working on his picture with enthusiasm, and firing away against the Academy, his excitable mind was absolutely distracted by the tumult of public affairs. It was the crisis of the war in Spain; and as victory follows victory, he raves about British heroes, and curses the French in a fever of ferocious patriotism.

Another year passed. In spite of various interruptions, and the ‘croakings’ of Hazlitt, who was constitutionally melancholy and contradictory, his picture made progress, and began to look imposing. ‘But his necessities were dreadful.’ He parted with his watch, his books, his clothes. He was unable at last to pay his models. He composed his draperies on an old battered lay-figure, over which he threw a table cloth or a blanket. Continual labour, irregular meals, living in foul air for eighteen hours out of twenty-four, brought on illness and blindness as a natural consequence. Hilton, who had just received 500*l.* from the British Gallery for his picture of ‘Mary anointing the Feet of our Saviour,’ generously assisted him. So did West, whose pension had lately been suspended without any reason given. At last, under ‘the influence of an enthusiasm stimulated by ‘despair almost to delirium,’—we quote his own words—his picture was completed, sent to the exhibition room of the Water Colour Society in Spring Gardens, and a few days afterwards was sold for six hundred guineas. When he walked in and saw the word ‘sold’ upon it, he nearly fainted. ‘These elevations,’ he says himself, ‘to the heights of glory from the lowest depths of misery, are dreadful cuts into the constitution!’ and no doubt they *did* tell fearfully on such a troubled excitable brain. The sum he received did not half pay his debts; but it re-established his credit. His old friends crowded round him to congratulate, and he exults in no measured terms. But it is impossible not to sympathise with him, the more so, because of all his pictures the ‘Judgment of Solomon’ is certainly the best in composition and in colour; with less confusion in the arrangement, and less of exaggeration and effort in the individual forms, than is usual with him. The vindictive sneer on the face of the wicked mother is too vulgar, too like that

of a common female cheat; the draperies are heavy, ungraceful, and in texture like wet wool—but altogether it is a fine picture. It reminds one of Tintoretto in the energy of the action, and the vigorous harmony of the colour. It is hardly a church picture, but would be well placed in a court of justice, or a chamber of appeals.

The short peace of 1814 had opened Paris to English visitors, and Haydon and Wilkie set off together on a well-earned holiday. But before they started, Haydon had bought another canvas, larger than ever, and dashed in the sketch of 'the Entry into Jerusalem,' the idea of which had been long in his mind.

One should read together the different accounts which Wilkie and Haydon have left us of their Paris journey. Nothing can better exhibit the contrast between the two men; nothing can be more animated and graphic than that of Haydon, nor more dry and matter-of-fact than that of Wilkie. The Englishmen were new to Paris manners, the Parisians as yet unfamiliarised with English peculiarities. The congregation of the various nations of Europe, in every variety of military costume, rendered the scene fascinating to the eye, intoxicating to the fancy, of an artist.

'At that time (in 1814) every step in Paris excited mighty associations. Every church, every palace, every street, and every corner was remarkable for some slaughter, or struggle, or some wonder connected with revolution and blood. Yet every where a sense of despotism pressed on your mind — there was in every thing a look of gilded slavery and bloody splendour—a tripping grace in the women, a ragged blackguardism in the men, and a polished fierceness in the soldiers, which distinguished Paris as the capital of a people who combine more inconsistent virtues and vices than any other people on the earth. At this moment, too, there was with all this an air of mortified vanity and suppressed exasperation which was natural. By the side of the Russian, Austrian, Prussian, and English officers, the remnant of Napoleon's army had a look of blasted glory, of withered pride and lurking revenge, which gave one a shudder of the sublime; and it was clear to any one of the commonest sagacity that they must seize the first opportunity of trying to regain their lost position. In the middle of the day the Rue St. Honoré was the most wonderful sight! Don Cossack chiefs loosely clothed, and moving as their horses moved, every bend of their bodies visible at every motion. The half-clothed savage Cossack horseman, his belt stuck full of pistols, and watches, and hatchets, crouched up on a little ragged-maned, dirty-looking, ill-bred, half-white shaggy pony; the Russian imperial guardsman, pinched in at the waist like a wasp, striding along like a giant with an air of victory, which made every Frenchman curse within his teeth as he passed him; the English officer

with his boyish face and broad shoulders; the heavy Austrian; the natty Prussian; and now and then a Bashkir Tartar in the ancient Phrygian cap, with bow and arrows and chain armour, gazing about from his horse in the midst of black-eyed grisettes; Jews, Turks, and Christians from all countries in Europe and Asia:—it was a pageant that kept one staring, musing, and bewildered from morning till night.' (Vol. i. p. 237.)

.. This, we think, is very effective *painting*.

The treasures of art, of which Italy had been despoiled, were at that time collected in the Louvre, as it is to be hoped they never will be again. We can imagine the first visit paid by the two friends,—Haydon springing up the marble steps three at a time, and rushing at once to the 'Transfiguration,' and the 'Pietro Martire'; Wilkie ascending the staircase with his usual deliberation, and walking up quietly to the 'Jan Steens' and the 'Ostades.' Haydon tells us, that when he stood before those great masterpieces of Raphael and Titian, on which his fancy had dwelt for years, his first feeling was disappointment; they looked, he says, so much smaller than he had anticipated: but after a while 'they grew up to the fancy, or the fancy 'grew up to them.' Sir Joshua Reynolds confesses to the same disappointment when he first saw the Sistine Chapel. We omit the other criticisms on Art because they are neither very new nor very profound, though as far as they go very animated and just. Wilkie, it appears, had gone to Paris especially to open a negotiation for the sale of his prints; and the fascination and novelty of the French capital never made him forget for a moment this, his principal object, which Haydon laughs to scorn. Wilkie's simplicity, his modesty, his affectionate disposition, his sound sense, his slow cautious manners, and his care of 'the siller,' were in fine contrast with Haydon's extravagance, impetuosity, and self-sufficiency; but the friends really loved each other, and when Wilkie is obliged to set off for England alone, Haydon is full of lamentation, and feels 'quite 'melancholy.'

On his return home, Haydon found that the freedom of his native town had been voted to him in his absence, and that the directors of the British Institution had awarded him one hundred guineas as a mark of their approbation of his 'Solomon.' He exults as usual. It was indeed 'Solomon in all his glory.' 'Considering,' he says, 'the excellence of the picture, there was 'nothing surprising in the enthusiasm of the artists, the public, 'the nobility!' 'And yet,' he adds, 'what did all this do for 'me? Nothing, literally; not a single commission, large or 'small, followed!' The picture which the British Institution

had rewarded with a prize of one hundred guineas, was afterwards forgotten by all, thrown back upon his hands, seized for rent, stowed away in a dark hole to rot, for no one would pay even the warehouse room. After the death of the artist it was purchased by Sir Edwin Landseer; and when exhibited in the British Gallery this year, it excited a good deal of interest and admiration.

His next picture, 'Christ's Entry into Jerusalem,' occupied him for nearly six years, amid difficulties and distresses of every kind. Still he paints away with the same exulting faith in himself, the same trust in God; harassed by embarrassments of the meanest kind; borrowing of every one who would lend, in debt to every one who would trust,—'two hundred to pay next week, not a sixpence towards it'—but it matters not. He is lifted above all sublunary ills by visions of future greatness. 'Let me,' he exclaims, 'let me but be successful in realising my conceptions in my day's labour, and what shall subdue me but extinction?'

This year, 1815, Haydon was diverted from his studies and his troubles by his acquaintance with Wordsworth, who sat for one of the heads in his picture—that of the 'Meditative Philosopher.' Yet more exciting, absolutely distracting, was the crisis of public affairs,—Napoleon's return from Elba, and the battle of Waterloo. He describes his own and the public enthusiasm with his usual lively graphic energy. He was 'as a man intoxicated.' All his friends, however, did not share in this jubilation. 'As for Hazlitt,' he says, 'it is not to be believed how the destruction of Napoleon affected him; he was for a time prostrated in mind and body, walked about unwashed, unshaven, as if in a kind of stupor.' There was another and a greater man than Hazlitt whom the fall of Napoleon also struck down as with a blow: that was Byron. Haydon, in his estimate of the characters of Wellington and Napoleon, showed more discrimination; yet how little did he then anticipate that he would be called upon to represent both these great men! the victor contemplating the field of his triumph, the vanquished meditating in his sea-girt prison. In the height of the national enthusiasm, Parliament voted half a million for a Waterloo monument, in which painting, sculpture, and architecture were to have been combined. The committee applied to the Royal Academy for advice,—the Academicians returned no answer whatever; because, forsooth, the Government had returned no answer when they had sent in a statement relative to the advancement of Art! Thus between disgust and bewilderment on the part of our statesmen, and the most childish pique on the part of our artists, or the

body of men who represented their interests, the whole project fell to the ground, to Haydon's infinite rage and mortification.

Haydon's idea for a monument commemorating the close of a war, which had begun amid the terrors of revolution and had ended in the restoration of order, was a series of compositions in painting and sculpture which should illustrate 'the best government for calling forth the energies of man, for regulating without cramping the spirit of liberty.' He does not give us in detail the invention and arrangement of his subjects; it is, however, clear, that in his design he anticipated what has since been done by Bendemann in the throne room at Dresden, in the fresco illustrating the progress of human culture; and by Kaulbach, in the great hall of the museum at Berlin, in his six grand compositions illustrating the great epochs of history. But who was there, at that time, capable of entertaining or even of comprehending such an idea? who were the artists among us capable of carrying it out? Haydon's grand project had to contend at once with the prejudices arising out of interest, and the prejudices arising out of ignorance. The artists were opposed to what they could not execute, the statesmen to what they could not understand.

Sir George Beaumont wrote to him at this time, earnestly advising him to desist from all pen and paper controversy with his opponents. 'If any severe remarks are made on you or your works, *paint* them down. You can. But if you retort in words, action will produce reaction, and your whole remaining life will be one scene of pernicious contention.' Haydon answered by assuring his sensible friend that he would abide by his advice, 'having long been convinced that to paint his way to his grand object was the only wise plan.' But in a few months we find him, to use his own expression, 'at it again!' attacking the Academicians with weapons which apparently lay readier to his hand than brush or pencil, 'with fury, ridicule, sarcasm; with reason, argument, eloquence;' and he describes these attacks as generating against him a degree of public and private animosity, which in the end ruined his own prospects.

It cannot be denied that the Royal Academy, as *then* constituted, did really deserve a good share of the contempt, wrath, and ridicule which Haydon poured out upon it. We remember hearing Sir Martin Shee eulogised as an excellent president, because he considered *only* the interests and the dignity of the Academy, as if the Academy had been incorporated *only* for their own interest. At that time the Academy, — that is to say, the greater number of the Academicians, — taking a strangely narrow view of their responsibilities as a body of

men, had placed themselves in opposition to the British Institution. The Directors of the Institution had opened an exhibition, the first of a series which has since become so popular, composed of a selection from the best ancient pictures in the private galleries of our nobility and gentry. The Academy met this attempt to improve the taste of the people by a pamphlet, which Haydon calls that 'infamous *Catalogue Raisonné*;' if a copy could be met with now, it would be designated, we imagine, as merely contemptible. The object was to prove that an exhibition of the ancient masters could be undertaken with no other view than to put down National Art, and to ruin English artists. The Titians and Rembrandts were derided under the title of the *black masters*. Those who admired or purchased such things were turned into clumsy ridicule. The purpose was base, and the taste, the style, and the grammar were worthy of the purpose. There were neither authors nor publishers' name appended to this precious production; but if it did not emanate from one of the Academy, as was generally supposed, it was at least hailed with delight by some of the leading Academicians. Northcote 'ordered a long candle, and 'went to bed to read it, in an ecstasy.' We can remember well other Academicians of greater name rubbing their hands, and chuckling over it with a most undisguised relish of its contents. Probably there is not an Academician now living who would not trample it under his feet. Hazlitt exposed with a just and manly scorn the vulgar idea that the modern artists were to be benefited by discrediting, by extinguishing, if that were possible, all that their great predecessors had accomplished of highest and best. 'What!' he exclaims, 'have they no 'conscious affinity with true genius, no claim to the reversion 'of true fame, no right of succession to this lasting inheritance 'and final reward of great exertions, which they would therefore 'destroy to prevent others from enjoying it? Does all their 'ambition begin and end in their "patriotic sympathy" with the 'sale of modern works of art, and have they no fellow feeling 'with the hopes and final destiny of human genius? What poet 'ever complained of the respect paid to Homer as derogatory to 'himself?' Haydon, who all his life had been advocating the public patronage of modern art, had sufficient sense and generosity to see and to say, that all real progress must be founded in a just appreciation of the great men who have gone before; and that the best means to extend the patronage of Art is, to elevate the public mind to the comprehension and estimation of what is most excellent in Art. The present state of Art in England is not yet perhaps a subject of much congratulation;

but at least it proves the truth of Burke's saying, 'that what ever attracts public attention to the fine arts, must in the end be for the benefit of artists.' Our artists of forty years ago were not so well aware of this fact as they are now.

The part which Haydon took in the affair of the *Catalogue Raisonné* did him honour. He was still farther uplifted by the arrival of Canova. The Italian sculptor, then at the height of his fame, gave in the strongest terms his testimony to the value of the Elgin Marbles. The Dilettante Society and Payne Knight were for the time discomfited, and Haydon pours out his soul in self-glorification and in admiration of Canova. Some things he has preserved of the conversation and opinions of the sculptor are interesting and characteristic. Speaking of Fuseli, Canova said, 'Vi sono nelle arti due cose, il fuoco e la fiamma. Fuseli non ebbe che la fiamma: Raffaele, il fuoco.' (On repeating this to Wordsworth, he remarked, 'Canova forgot the third, and that is, *il fumo*, of which Fuseli had plenty!')

Haydon once asked Canova how he liked West: '*Comme ça !*' 'Du moins il compose bien?' 'Non, monsieur; il met des figures en groupes.' 'There was,' adds Haydon, 'jealousy at the name of Flaxman: when we talked of his designs there was an expression I did not like.' But if Haydon intends here to impute to Canova any mean jealousy, he shows ignorance of the character of the Italian. It was not the jealousy of a small mind, but rather an intuitive consciousness of the only superiority he admitted. Every one knows Canova's reply when he was requested to undertake a work for one of our English universities: 'I am sorry the English possess a Flaxman and do not know it.'

Another triumph, which Haydon fully appreciated, was the beautiful sonnet which Wordsworth addressed to him, which need not be given here. The readers of Wordsworth know it well as among his finest; most artists have, or ought to have it by heart.* Haydon exults again with pardonable delight, he actually revels in his triumph:—

'Now, reader, was not this glorious? and you, young student, when you are pressed down by want in the midst of a great work, remember what followed Haydon's perseverance—the freedom of his native town—the visit of Canova—and the sonnet of Wordsworth;—and if that do not cheer you up and make you go on, you are past all hope! I felt as it were lifted up in the great eye of the world—I then relapsed into melancholy sensitiveness! my heart yearned in

* The one beginning 'High is our calling, friend!' in which he associates the poet and the painter.

gratitude to God as my protector, my divine inspirer. The great Spirit, who had led me through the wilderness, who had fired my soul when a boy unconscious of my future fate.' (Vol. i. p. 301.)

And then to shadow such glory, and tame down such exultation, came the usual miseries: no money, distracting debts, bills often renewed, again due, and nothing to meet them; 'want staring him in the face.' As if all this were not enough he fell passionately in love. The object of his attachment was a beautiful and amiable woman, a young widow with two infant children; nothing could be more rash, more imprudent; but, as he says most characteristically, all resistance to the new passion 'was relinquished with a glorious defiance of restraint.' The lovers were engaged, and his Mary consented to wait for better times.

During the Session of 1817, Parliament had voted a large sum of money for building additional churches. Haydon represented, that if while the churches were building, they were so arranged as to admit of an altar-piece for every church; and if Government allotted, for this purpose, a small per-centage out of the money voted, it would be a great encouragement to high art, and 'a certain prospect of reward to those who had devoted themselves to it;' himself included of course. There was, however, some reason in his proposition. He addressed a letter on the subject to Sir Charles Long, (Lord Farnborough,) who laid it before the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Vansittart replied oracularly, 'Let us build churches first and think of decorating them afterwards.' 'That is to say,' as Haydon well remarks, 'let us build churches without a thought about pictures, and then when churches are built without any reference to pictures, let us think of hanging up pictures in churches where there are no lights to see them.' Is not this the principle on which our most thinking people have decorated the new House of Lords?

In the beginning of 1820, Haydon at length completed his large picture of the 'Entry into Jerusalem;'—after six years of hard work, during which he had been generously assisted by Jeremiah Harman, Watson Taylor, Coutts, Thomas Hope, and others. He would not starve, and to beg he was *not* ashamed. Without a shilling in his pocket he hired the Egyptian Hall at a rent of 200*l.*, in which to exhibit his picture, and on the result of this exhibition depended his salvation or his ruin; there was no other alternative, no middle course for him. It succeeded. The public enthusiasm was this time really excited; the room was every day crowded; money came pouring in. But he complains, with a curious *naïveté* as well as obliquity of moral vision, that

this success raised 'a base appetite' in some of his creditors to have a share in his receipts, and that at the moment he was reaping the fruits of his labour, he was overwhelmed with lawyers' letters.

The picture was, in many respects, fine and striking. Some parts of the composition excellent. The figure, for instance, of the poor penitent girl shrinking from sight, contrasted with the buoyant faith of a woman who is spreading her garment in the way, we remember as particularly good. Several of the heads being recognised as portraits of distinguished persons, added to the interest the pictures inspired; Wordsworth figured as the meditative philosopher, and Voltaire as the sceptic. Keats, Hazlitt, and others, were introduced as spectators; after the manner of the old Florentine painters, who made their grandest religious scenes a vehicle for portraiture. There were doubts about the head of Christ: Mrs. Siddons, Walter Scott, and Wordsworth approved; but notwithstanding this intoxicating praise, Haydon himself had the candour to feel and to confess that *there*, where the chief interest and excellence ought to have been concentrated, he had failed, and that the head of Christ was weak and commonplace. The exhibition was open for two months, and the receipts amounted to 1,760*l*. The picture was then carried down to Scotland, and exhibited with a like success in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Haydon relates that once on going into the exhibition-room at Glasgow, with his hat on, an old Scotchman came up to him, and said with an air of solemn rebuke, 'I think you should tak your hat off in sic an awfu' presence!' But with all this enthusiasm, no one thought of securing the picture for any place of worship, or for the advantage and instruction of the people: ultimately it was sold to pay a debt, and shipped off to America.

His predilection for large works was not damped however. He ordered a canvas nineteen feet long by sixteen high, and dashed in his first conception of the 'Raising of Lazarus.' 'But how was I to get through it? "*Go on,*" said the inward voice 'I had heard from my youth, "*work and trust!*" and work and trust I did.' Thus ended the year 1820, a year of brief intoxicating prosperity, and thus ends the autobiography. The narrative is now taken up by the editor, who however leaves Haydon, wherever it is possible, to speak for himself; and we proceed with this sad eventful history.

The year 1821 beheld the sanguine artist rising in reputation. We can remember hearing of him in connexion with distinguished names. In his painting room might be found Walter Scott and Wordsworth, Charles Lamb, Barry Cornwall, Miss

Mitford (who addressed to him a charming sonnet), Mrs. Siddons, Mr. Rogers, besides his old friends who had not quite forsaken him,—Wilkie, Lord Mulgrave, and Sir George Beaumont. He was himself, when not depressed and distracted by pecuniary distresses, ‘a capital converser,’—‘excellent company,’ as was said of him by one who knew him well—full of spirit and energy, with a fine head, and animated countenance, open attractive manners, a little too self-confident perhaps, but even those who felt inclined to say doubtfully ‘*You talk this well, sir!*’ were borne down by his unhesitating ‘*By heaven! I’ll do it too.*’ In his own opinion he only wanted money to be a happy man, and plenty of work to be a great man. But commissions did not come, and debts accumulated, and after waiting four years,—a long time for one of Haydon’s impatient temperament,—he married his beautiful widow, and took her children, not only to his home, but to his heart. Though the step was imprudent, yet he might have done worse. True, marriage by increasing his responsibilities took away what was left to him of independent action. It enhanced the pressure of every difficulty. It doubled the bitterness of every pain. Yet there is something in the strength of the deepest and holiest of human affections which elevates and purifies life. Haydon as a husband and a father was not a wiser man, but he was in many respects a better and a happier man. He blesses God that marriage softened his heart without weakening his energies. His wife’s sweetness tamed down his fierce restless nature, and she became to him truly what he fondly called her, ‘a heroine in adversity and an ‘angel of peace.’ She aided him in other ways besides thus softening his temper, sitting patiently to him for his female figures, sometimes for five hours together. Dark clouds came over him, moments of heart-sinking; but then again he prays with an assured mind; and from his strife with the world, money-lenders, lawyers and creditors, he returns to his wife and to his painting room, to intoxicating visions of glory, and to ‘all the concealed comforts locked up in woman’s love.’

From this time the entries in his journal indicate by many sweet spontaneous touches the presence of an angel of peace within his heart and within his home; but, alas! they are filled also with daily pictures of accumulating embarrassment, distress, and want. We shall not pursue, along the darkening pages, the history of these abject miseries;—debts, lawyers’ letters, executions, insult, wretchedness, money begged or borrowed from reluctant friends, often not a shilling in the house for food. His wife’s poor trinkets, his children’s clothes pawned; his drawings, his books, often the very implements of his art, hastily sold

or sacrificed. On one occasion, when his wife was confined, there was no bread in the house, because the baker would no longer give credit, — and no water, because the rates were unpaid. Many, perhaps too many, in the struggle of an uncertain profession have suffered the like extremities; but who, like Haydon, has chronicled them from day to day, till they become so heart-sickening, so exasperating in their monotony, that the reader almost loses patience, loses sympathy? Far from wondering at the final catastrophe, he only wonders it was so long delayed, and feels that an existence which Haydon endured for twenty-five years must have put an end to any other man in a twelve-month. It is a horrible picture. The gloom, the trouble darkened and deepened, till the immediate pressure seems to have left him no conscience, no feeling for others. His own, his children's wants, break down what is left to him of honest pride. Fiercely he protests against his fate: passionately he appeals against it to God and man. Yet we read without surprise, with a painful conviction that some degree of self-control in the first instance might easily have averted this extremity of misery and degradation. It seems cruel that after years of toil 'he had 'nothing left on earth he could call his own, but his brains.' But in money matters no experience made him wise, and no distress made him prudent; for him adversity had not its appointed uses, sweet or bitter. He had a rapid vigorous pencil: he could always sell his small groups and sketches; he had been advised to make money in this way, and by painting a few portraits, while proceeding with his great unprofitable pictures; but he would not condescend to this till it was too late. It could not be said that he was self-deluded; he saw the way clearly before him. He thus argues the point with himself:—

'Too proud to do small modest things that I might obtain fair means of existence as I proceeded with my great work, I thought it no degradation to borrow, to risk the insult of a refusal, and to be bated down like the meanest dealer. Then I was liberal in my art, I spared no expense for casts and prints, and did great things for the art by means of them; this is true; yet, to be strictly correct, you should do nothing, however necessary, which your income does not warrant you in doing. But ought I, after such efforts as I had made, to have been left in this position by the Directors of the British Institution or the Government? Under any other Government in Europe, after what I had done, I should not have been allowed to remain one moment in necessity.'

This was *his* view of the case. Of his own social obligations, so far as money was concerned, 'he seems scarcely to have thought at all, till embarrassments closed like a net around him;

on the contrary, of the obligations of society towards himself he appears to have entertained a very definite, though somewhat peculiar notion: 'He believed that he was the apostle and martyr of High Art, and as such had a sort of right to support from those who would not find him the employment he was always craving.' (Vol. iii. p. 321.)

Nothing so wrenches the heart as to find scattered through the later memoranda solemn warnings to others against debt, against doing evil in the prospect of some uncertain future good; advice to his sons never to incur a pecuniary obligation for any self-gratification; and we find afterwards one of them—noble boy!—living on bread and water at his college, rather than do so, while Haydon himself was reduced to the meanest subterfuges to keep himself out of prison. He boasts, in several places, of the scholars he had formed—since distinguished men—boasts that he had trained them in Art without the remuneration of a single farthing. But these gentlemen might tell, if they would, what a price they had paid for his instructions. The manner in which he wronged his pupils, not only taking, on various pretences, the money out of their pockets, but prevailing on them to sign bills, which he left them to meet or go to prison, is among the most unpardonable traits revealed in his biography. As the father of a family, he confesses to the wickedness and indelicacy of such conduct. 'But,' he adds, 'I was in such a state of desperation that I wonder at nothing.'

Yet, even in the midst of these dark humiliations, there are strange gleams of light—records of the generous kindness he received from others. On one occasion a sheriff's officer, sent to arrest him, was so struck and agitated by the picture of 'Lazarus,' that he allowed him to go free till a certain hour at which Haydon gave his word to appear. The editor remarks that the 'The compunction of the bailiff before the great canvas of "Lazarus" was as striking an incident in its way as that of the bravos arrested in their murderous intent by the organ-playing of Stradella;'—we believe it was the exquisite voice of Stradella, singing his own music, which so touched the hearts of the assassins. But however this may be, a nearer parallel may be found in the well-known story of Parnigiano. During the sack of Rome he was working in his room, intent on one of his great pictures, when two of Bourbon's soldiers rushed in to murder and pillage; they were arrested by the sight of the picture, stood before it for a few minutes, and then walked quietly and silently away. But we must here dismiss the chapter of Haydon's mistakes and delinquencies in pecuniary

matters: if unjustifiable, yet pitiable; and the retribution, though it may be deserved, is sad and terrible.

When his picture of 'Lazarus' was finished he exhibited it in the Egyptian Hall; but it did not even pay the expenses. The head of Lazarus—staring ghastly with awakening life—is finely conceived; the head and figure of Christ a failure—and worse—positively mean and bad. Wherever refined or purely intellectual feeling was required, Haydon has seldom succeeded. As in the expression of power he is almost always exaggerated, so in the expression of refinement he is almost always weak or vapid.

In 1823 we find him in the King's Bench. But even here the wonderful ardour and vivacity of the man was not subdued. Dr. Johnson would have styled him 'an *incompressible* fellow.' He drew up a petition to the House of Commons, which was presented by Mr. Brougham. It commenced thus:—

'It is now seven years since the Committee for the purchase of the Elgin Marbles, in discussing the subject of their deliberation, submitted to the attentive consideration of the House how highly the cultivation of the Fine Arts had contributed to the reputation, character, and dignity of every Government by which they had been encouraged, and how intimately they were connected with the advancement of everything valuable in science, literature, or art.

'There are two ways in which your petitioner presumes to think that ~~the~~ successful excitement to the genius of the country towards historical painting could be given, viz., the purchase and presentation of pictures to adorn the altars of churches, or the sides of public halls, and the employment of artists of distinguished reputation to produce them.'

Then, after a recommendation of himself, he humbly prays—

'That the House will appoint such a Committee as investigated the subject of the Elgin marbles to inquire into the state of encouragement of historical painting, and to ascertain the best method of preventing, by moderate and judicious patronage, those who devote their lives to such honourable pursuits, so essential (as your Committee has affirmed) to science, literature, and art, from ending their days in prison and in disgrace.'

He dates this petition from the King's Bench Prison.

'Sir Charles Long (to whom Haydon had made earnest application for his support in Parliament—applications met with the most diplomatic chilliness, to judge by Sir Charles's notes,) insisting on some practical suggestion, Haydon laid before Mr. Brougham his plan for ornamenting the great room at the Admiralty (which, no doubt, occurred to him as an old guest of Lord Mulgrave's there), with representations of naval actions, and busts and portraits of naval commanders. This is worth noting as a first step to the result which is

getting towards realisation in the New Houses of Parliament.' (Vol. ii. p. 54.)

Having subsequently passed through the Insolvent Court, Haydon found himself free to begin life anew, cleared, as far as law could clear him, from all his pecuniary responsibilities. He was no sooner out of prison than he recommenced his appeals to the Government, advocating the decoration of the Admiralty, the House of Lords, and other public buildings. He wrote letter after letter, such as no doubt 'bored' the officials 'to extinction.'

'One would say, after reading the correspondence on both sides, that never was anything so hopeless as these appeals. But silence, snub, simple acknowledgment, formal phrase of courtesy meaning nothing, curt refusal, every variety of turn by which red-tapeism would trip up and disable an obtrusive enthusiast, was lost upon Haydon, who, nothing daunted, kept pouring in page after page of passionate pleading on Sir Charles Long, on Mr. Vansittart, on Mr. Robinson, on the Duke of Wellington, on Lord Grey, on Sir Robert Peel, on Lord Melbourne, or Sir Robert Peel again, and seemed to be making no way whatever with any of them. But our new Houses of Parliament are to have their frescoes, and their oil pictures; and Haydon lived to take a part (though an unsuccessful one) in the first competition intended to test the capability of our artists for such work.'

While advocating and enforcing his favourite object with unconquerable pertinacity, it was necessary to live. He began to paint portraits, which he had always despised, and now took up the 'trade,' as he termed it, with deep disgust. He deals gibes on his sitters (*aside*, observe), and scratches caricatures of their stupid heads and vapid faces. But he lived to discover his mistake in depreciating a department of Art which had employed the powers of Raphael, which had made the glory of Titian, and to acknowledge that there can be no great historical painting which is not founded in the study of individual nature.

In 1826, he addressed a letter to Mr. Canning, inclosing a petition similar in substance to the last, which he intended him to present to the House of Commons. Mr. Canning declined. It did not belong to his official department. He again attacked Sir Charles Long, and thus records the result:—

'On the subject of my petition, Sir Charles behaved very candidly, and told me he took a very different view of the subject to that which I did. He said he had been long in the House of Commons, and that there was nothing less known there than Art. That when the Waterloo Monument was proposed, many different plans were sent in. That Lord Londonderry said the thing had better be given up. That all money voted by the House of Commons would be subject to

supervision, and that the Directors, as independent gentlemen, had determined, if the House voted the money, to refuse it, because they would not be subject to the investigation of Mr. Hume.

‘When Sir Charles said this his face had an expression quite extraordinary. It gave me more notion of Hume’s power, and the dread place-hunters have of him, than anything else on earth could have given me.’ (Vol. ii. p. 110.)

Haydon persisted. Sir Charles put on his glasses and looked over some papers, and so the painter bowed himself out.

After this rebuff he determined to try Mr. Ridley Colborne (now Lord Colborne), from whom at least he met with some sympathy. Mr. Colborne presented his petition, which was in the usual spirit. We extract one or two passages. He begins by setting forth:—

‘That in all countries where the Arts have flourished, the native artists were the principal objects of national patronage, and their productions the leading features in the public collections. The petitioner humbly wishes to impress the importance of this principle of patronage on the attention of the House, in consequence of the projected intention of a National Gallery; for no gallery can strictly be called National, nor will any gallery be ever of that advantage to native Art, if it be built only to receive foreign productions as examples of instruction, without provision being made for the purchase and reception of native works. The petitioner humbly hopes the House will not think this subject beneath their attention, or inconsistent with their duties at this particular period; and, when the National Gallery comes under their discussion, that they will deign to give it that notice which, in their wisdom, they may deem due, for the greatest statesmen the world has ever seen have always considered the Arts an engine not unworthy to be used in advancing the commercial and political greatness of a people.’

On the topics suggested by these observations we will not now dwell, but return to poor Haydon, of whom his biographer observes with much truth:—

‘It cannot, I think, be denied to Haydon, that his perpetual pressing of a nobler estimate of the relations of artists and people has done something to create the feeling which has at length expressed itself, however imperfectly, in the plans for decorating our new Houses of Parliament.’ (Vol. ii. p. 114.)

As the cloud of sorrow, perplexity, and want gathered and darkened round his home, Haydon began to tire of his warfare with the Academy, to understand the injury it had done him in his profession, and to be more and more conscious of his inability to cope with the antagonism of an influential body of men. Preparatory to a canvass for admission into a society he had professed to treat with abhorrence and contempt, he paid a

series of amicable visits to the leading members. Of these, and of his own motives in seeking reconciliation, he gives a full account in his Journal. He has headed this account with the significant superscription—‘The disgrace of my life.’ To those who read it, it will appear a disgrace thus to give the lie to all his previous convictions, and from motives plainly self-interested. To himself it seemed disgraceful, because it was unsuccessful; had it succeeded, we can hardly doubt that he would have regarded and represented it with very real self-delusion as an act of magnanimity. He called on Lawrence, Shee, Flaxman, Chantrey, Calcott, Beechey, Westall, Bailey, Thompson, Ward, Howard, Stothard, Bone, Cooper. He was received by some with stiff formality; by others, with ill-concealed disdain; by a few, with real kindness. His remarks are evidently coloured by his ill humour with himself. His allusions to Flaxman (whom in his soul he admired and venerated) are especially coarse and offensive. He does justice, however, to the hearty good nature of Chantrey and the ‘angelic mind’ and serene simplicity of Stothard. In contrasting himself with Wilkie at this time, he says with a singular candour and self-knowledge:—

‘Wilkie’s system was Wellington’s; principle and prudence the groundwork of risk. Mine, that of Napoleon; audacity with a defiance of principle when principle was in the way. I got into prison. Napoleon died at St. Helena. Wellington is living and honoured; and Wilkie has had a public dinner given to him at Rome, the seat of Art and genius, while I am as poor and necessitous as ever. Let no man use evil as a means of success in any scheme however grand. Evil, that good may come, is the prerogative of Deity alone, and should never be ventured on by mortals.’ (Vol. ii. p. 146.)

He really loved Wilkie, but could not help giving way to a little fun, and perhaps a little envy, when he visited his old friend after the return of the latter from Italy. Wilkie’s health had broken down, he had become an emaciated old bachelor:—

‘There sat I,’ says Haydon, ‘rosy, plump, and full of difficulties, harass and trouble, with a large family and a dear wife. He has no household anxieties, no domestic harass, no large family to bring up. But he has no sweet affections, no tender sympathies. Would I exchange my situation for David Wilkie’s? No, no! not if I had ten times the trouble, the anxiety, the harass, the torture!’

In the year 1828, Haydon prepared to publish a pamphlet on the public encouragement of Art in England. He wrote to the Duke of Wellington, begging permission to dedicate the pamphlet to him. The Duke declines with formal politeness. Haydon writes again, recapitulating the points of his letter. The same day the Duke replies:—

‘The Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Mr. Haydon, and will readily peruse and attend to his work ; but he is much concerned again to repeat, that he must decline to give permission that any work should be dedicated to him.’

As soon as the pamphlet was published it was sent to the Duke, who as usual acknowledges the receipt of it with his own hand. Haydon then writes to ask the Duke, ‘with all the respect due to his illustrious character’ whether if his plan for the encouragement of historical painting were brought forward in Parliament, his Grace would be favourably disposed towards it? The Duke replies with characteristic politeness and caution:—

‘The Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Mr. Haydon, and has had the honour of receiving his letters. The Duke begs leave to reserve his opinion upon the encouragement proposed to be given to historical painting, until he will see the practical plan for such encouragement.’

Haydon immediately writes the details of his practical plan. He proposes that 4000*l.* be granted every two years for six years, for the employment of historical painters; that if at the end of this period the works produced justify the liberality of the grant, it shall be continued for ten years more; that the employment should be in the hands of a committee of the House of Commons, and that they should begin with four great subjects, viz., one military, for Chelsea Hospital; one naval, for the Admiralty; one sacred, for an altarpiece; and one civil, for a hall of justice. He hopes, in conclusion, that his Grace will be pleased to add to the other glories of his ministry, the glory of establishing a system of national aid to the Arts in this country.

If the Duke had been a wit instead of a Wellington he would probably have whispered ‘*Vous êtes orfèvre, monsieur Josse!*’ The reply, though in a very different style, is in effect equally brief and conclusive:—

‘The Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Mr. Haydon, and has had the honour of receiving his letter. The Duke must again beg leave to decline to give an answer until the plan shall be brought regularly before him. The Duke must however, in the first instance, object to the grant of any public money for the object.’

Even this *soufflet* from ‘his own immortal hand,’ did not induce absolute despair. Haydon applied for advice to Mr. Agar Ellis, and asked him if he had any chance by laying the plan again before the impenetrable Duke through the medium of his secretaries?

‘The answer was, not in the least, that the Directors of the British

Galleſſy had applied to Government the year before, for 3000*l.* in addition to 3000*l.* which they had offered of their own money for a piece of ground to extend the National Gallery; the Duke would not listen to it; and when he granted a small sum in aid to the British Museum, he told the Trustees that they must go without next year.'

In spite of these continual rebuffs, on a subject so near his heart, Haydon is full of admiration for the impracticable Duke. He says, 'All my predictions about Wellington will come true. He will rescue the country, double its power, and leave it with revenue flourishing, feared, respected, and wondered at.' But the cause of High Art was, nevertheless, for the present hopeless.

The end of this year (1828) found Haydon again a prisoner in the King's Bench. Here he accidentally witnessed from his window, a ridiculous masquerade procession of the reckless inmates; and on asking what it meant, was told it was a procession of burgesses, headed by the Lord High Sheriff and Lord Mayor of the King's Bench Prison, going in state to open the poll for the election of two members to protect their rights in the House of Commons. 'Here,' he says, 'were baronets and bankers, authors, merchants, soldiers, painters, poets, dandies of rank in silk and velvet, dandies of no rank in rags and tatters, folly, insanity, poverty, affliction, all mingled in boisterous merriment, with a spiked wall twenty feet high above their heads.'

The painter, astonished out of the sense of his own sorrow by this Alsatian scene, half mad, half miserable, thought he had never beheld such characters, such expressions, and such heads on human shoulders, assembled in one group before. He resolved to paint it; this was the origin of the 'Mock Election,' one of his best works. When released from prison, chiefly through the generous intervention of Lord Ellesmere and Mr. Lockhart, he began upon his picture and worked at it with enthusiasm; he made frequent visits to the King's Bench, putting in the heads from life. Some of the details of character as given in his Journal are wonderfully graphic and spirited, particularly the story of a ruined officer, who sat for the broken-down man of fashion, in the foreground of the picture. (Vol. ii. pp. 246. 302.)

While working on the 'Mock Election' Haydon lived, as usual, upon credit and such money as he could raise by small chance subjects. The picture was purchased by George IV., for five hundred guineas, at a moment when the unhappy painter was again on the verge of ruin and despair. Such

sudden vicissitudes, to use his own expression, 'make terrible' 'cuts into the constitution.' In a precarious profession the turns of fortune have some of the bad effects of gambling. They upset all the calculations of prudence, they turn wisdom into foolishness, and life into a lottery. Poor Haydon!

He afterwards painted a companion to the 'Mock Election' in a similar spirit; he entitled it 'Chairing the Member,' but the King did not like it, declined the purchase, and it afterwards fell into private hands.

Nothing daunted by all the former repulses, Haydon now drew up another petition to the House of Common, which was presented by Mr. Agar-Ellis. It began in the usual style. 'It is now *fourteen* years since your Honourable House, in the report on the Elgin Marbles,' &c. &c., and was in substance the same as the former petition. The result was also the same. Mr. Ellis remarked, in presenting the petition, that anxious as he felt for the encouragement of Art, he could not recommend a grant of money for the purpose. 'Anxious as he felt!' exclaims Haydon, in scorn and ire —

'This is, divine! This is something like Pitt's anxiety when Lord Elgin applied for the public aid to make casts and drawings at Athens. Pitt said, *anxious as he felt to advance the Arts*, he could not authorise such a use of the public money; and directly after that spent 300,000*l.* in catamarans to blow up the flotilla at Boulogne. O our public men! our public men! A couple of tutors of painting and sculpture at Oxford and Cambridge would send them into Parliament with juster notions of what was due to the arts and the country.'

"In 1829 he painted the picture of 'Punch,'—a satire on human life—full of power and humorous expression in the heads, and with bits of charming colour and fine painting; but unpleasing at first view from the want of a concentrated interest, and from being too crowded as a composition. Some of the separate heads, as that of the laughing boy, the apple woman (it is said that Mrs. Haydon sat for this beautiful face), the simple, sturdy farmer, and keen, astute Bow-street officer, are almost equal to anything we can remember in Modern Art. This picture is in the possession of Dr. Darling.

The year 1830 found him again a prisoner in the King's Bench. Some one said to him, 'When you are in this place you must get rid of all the finer feelings.' 'Pardon me,' replied Haydon, 'you must struggle hard to keep them; it is your only chance of salvation.' This was well felt and well said.

He once more passed through the Insolvent Court, and was once more legally free.

In the same year he wrote again to the Duke of Wellington, who was again in power. He called the Duke's attention to the report of M. Guizot, recommending the new King, Louis Philippe, to employ historical painters to commemorate the events of the July revolution. The letter was sent at nine in the morning; before two comes the Duke's reply, prompt and practical.

'Sir,—I have received your letter. It is certainly true that the British public give but little encouragement to the art of historical painting. The reason is obvious. There are no funds at the disposal of the Crown or its Ministers that are not voted by Parliament upon estimates, and applied strictly to the purposes for which such funds are voted.

'No Minister would go to Parliament with a proposition for a vote for a picture to be painted; and, therefore, there can be no such encouragement here as there is in other countries for this art. I am much concerned that I cannot point out the mode in which this want of encouragement can be remedied.

'I have the honour to be,

WELLINGTON.'

He wrote again, and yet again, with the same result.

Haydon now turned, with harassed mind, to his painting. Sir Robert Peel, who had seen and admired the small sketch of 'Napoleon musing at St. Helena,' gave him a commission to paint it the size of life, and paid part of the price in advance. He is full of gratitude and admiration for Sir Robert Peel, not without reason; and Sir Robert was pleased with his picture, not without reason. It is a fine, quiet, suggestive work. Wordsworth's sonnet on this picture is well known.

The Reform Bill now came on; and Haydon's discursive mind was so engrossed by politics, that his painting room was comparatively neglected. However, he was moved by the very fever which possessed him, to paint a picture which had reference to that exciting crisis. It represented a group of country politicians waiting the arrival of the 'Times' newspaper, which well expressed the public impatience, and had great success.

A still greater success, a still greater honour, awaited our painter. After the passing of the Reform Bill, the event was celebrated by a banquet in Guildhall, and he was commissioned by Lord Grey to paint this city festival, with the portraits of the principal reformers. Every facility was given to him to make memoranda from the actual scene. In the progress of this picture he was compelled to study portraiture with more attention than he had ever given to it. All the Ministers, and the principal supporters of the Government on this question,

sat to him, by Lord Grey's express wish, during this year and the next.

Lord Nugent sat first; he was on the eve of embarking for the Ionian Islands; then the Duke of Sussex, Lord Grey, Lord Althorp, Lord Lansdowne, Lord John Russell, Lord Melbourne, Lord Palmerston, Lord Goderich, Lord Auckland, Lord Brougham, Lord Holland, Lord Essex, Lord Stanley, Lord Ebrington. Then the distinguished commoners, Burdett, Graham, Jeffrey, Plunket, Coke of Norfolk, O'Connell, and a long *et cetera*. No wonder that Haydon, at all times like a sky-rocket ready charged, should have been lifted to a height of glorification which in his wildest fits of ambition he had hardly contemplated. He describes his sitters as one by one they successively came before him, and his touches of manner and character as given in words are infinitely more vivid and life-like than any his pencil achieved. Nor did he fail to take advantage of the opportunities now afforded him to press his favourite object—the public patronage of Art. Bound down in his painting-room, and obliged to listen,—fixed as if in an enchanted chair,—he had the leading powers of the State at his mercy. It was a fine opportunity for exercising that 'intrepidity of talk,' for which Haydon was more remarkable than for taste and modesty. And did he not make some of them wish themselves a hundred miles off?—we rather think he *did*!

But when he pressed upon each and all the public encouragement of Art for public purposes he met with no response. Lord Melbourne gaily laughed the question aside. Lord Grey as gravely postponed it. Lord John Russell 'did not say much.' Lord Goderich 'shrugged his shoulders, and shook his head.' Lord Lansdowne, 'instead of allowing Haydon to talk, questioned *him*.' Lord Althorp 'thought an annual vote to a national gallery would be injurious, because it implied the necessity of buying when there might be nothing to buy.' In the mean time the observant painter was marking them down in a style they little expected. As portraits in words, we think the best are those of Lord Grey and Lord Melbourne. On one occasion he called on Lord Grey late in the afternoon, and found him sitting quietly by the fire reading papers.

'Lord Grey was looking the essence of mildness. He seemed disposed for a chat. In my eagerness to tell him all he wanted to know, I sprung up off my chair, and began to explain, bending my fist to enforce my argument. Lord Grey looked at me with a mild peacefulness of expression, as if regarding a bit of gunpowder he had admitted to disturb his thoughts. Now I should have sat still, and chatted quietly, for that is what he wanted—to be relieved by gentle

talk. But he began to talk to me about the picture, and touched a sensitive spring. I blazed away, made arrangements for his sitting next week, and took my leave. I came in like a shot, talked like a congreve-rocket, and was off like an arrow, leaving Lord Grey for five minutes not quite sure if it was all a dream. How delightfully he looked by the fire! What a fine subject he would make in his official occupation!

Here is another of those pictures in words which only a painter could have given. He went down to the House of Lords to study the heads of his sitters when animated by expression. It was the debate on the Irish Church question:—

‘The Duke spoke well, and without hesitation. There was a manly honour about his air; and when he read a quotation, to see him deliberately take out his glasses and put them on was extremely interesting. He enforces what he says with a bend of his head, striking his hand forcibly, and, as if convinced, on the papers. He finished, and, to my utter astonishment, up started Lord Melbourne like an artillery rocket. He began in a fury. His language flowed out like fire. He made such palpable hits that he floored the Duke of Wellington as if he had shot him. But the moment the stimulus was over his habitual apathy got a-head. He stammered, hemmed, and hawed. But it was the most pictorial exhibition of the night. He waved his white hand with the natural grace of Talma; expanded his broad chest, looked right at his adversary like a handsome lion, and grappled him with the grace of Paris.’ (Vol. ii. p. 344.)

Lord Melbourne was his favourite sitter. ‘He seemed,’ says Haydon, ‘to have a notion that I was a disappointed enthusiast, whom he found it amusing to listen to, however absurd it might be to adopt my plans.’ This was, perhaps, near the truth, but Haydon was fascinated notwithstanding: ‘*I am always,*’ he says, ‘*brilliant with him.* I feel at my ease. He is a shrewd man, and is not satisfied with random reasons. I was talking about Art, and he brought me to an anchor for a minute by asking me a question that required reflection to refute, and set me thinking when he was gone.’

In 1833 Lord Melbourne was in power, and some of the scenes which took place between the ardent painter and the nonchalant Premier are recorded with much liveliness.

‘24th.—Called on Lord Melbourne; was very glad to see him and he me. We had a regular set-to about Art. I went on purpose. I said, for twenty-five years I have been at all the Lords of the Treasury without effect.’ The First Lord who has courage to establish a system for the public encouragement of High Art will be remembered with gratitude by the English people. He said, “What d’ye want?” “2000*l.* a year.” “Ah,” said Lord Melbourne, shaking his head and looking with his arch eyes, “God help the Minister that meddles

with Art." "Why, my Lord?" "He will get the whole Academy on his back." "I have had them on mine, who am not a minister and a nobleman, and here I am. You say the Government is poor: you voted 10,000*l.* for the Poles, and 20,000*l.* for the Euphrates." "I was against 10,000*l.* for the Poles. These things only bring over more refugees," said Lord Melbourne. "What about the Euphrates?" "Why, my Lord, to try if it be navigable, and all the world knows it is not." Then Lord Melbourne turned round, full of fun, and said, "Drawing is of no use, it is an obstruction to genius. Correggio could not draw, Reynolds could not draw." "Ah, my Lord, I see where you have been lately." Then he rubbed his hands, and laughed again. "Now, Lord Melbourne," said I, "at the bottom of that love of fun, you know you have a mine of solid sense: You know the beautiful letter you wrote me. Do let us have a regular conversation. The art will go out." "Who is there to paint pictures?" said he. "Myself, Hilton, and Etty." "Etty! why he paints old —," said Lord Melbourne. "Well, come on Sunday at eleven." "I am going out of town and will put my ideas clearly on paper." "Well, Sunday week. Will that do?" "Yes, my Lord. Now, my dear Lord, do be serious about it." "I will," said he, looking archly grave, with his handsome face, and fine naked neck, for he was just out of his bed, in his dressing-gown. 'Gad, it is something to get him to say he will really listen: he has more sagacity than any of them.'

'19th.—Called on Lord Melbourne, and after a little while was admitted. He looked round with his arch face, and said, "What now?" as much as to say, "What the devil are you come about—Art I suppose." "Now, my Lord," said I, "I am going to be discreet for the rest of my life, and take you for an example." I got up, and was eagerly talking away, when he said, "Sit down." Down I sat, and continued, "Do you admit the necessity of State support?" "I do not," said he; "there is private patronage enough to do all that is requisite." "That I deny," I replied, at which he rubbed his hands and said, "Ha, ha." He then went to the glass, and began to comb his hair. I went on: "My Lord, that's a false view; private patronage has raised the school in all the departments where it could do service, but High Art cannot be advanced by private patronage." "But it is not the policy of this country to interfere," said he. "Why?" "Because it is not necessary," said he. "You say so, but I'll prove the contrary." "Well, let us hear," said Lord Melbourne: "where has Art ever flourished? In Greece, Egypt, Italy. How? by individual patronage." "No, my Lord, by the support of the State alone. Has it flourished in any country without it? No. How can your Lordship expect it in this." He did not reply. "Ergo," said I, "if it has flourished in every country where state patronage accompanied it, and if it has never flourished here, where there has been no state patronage, what is the inference? High Art does not end with itself. It presumes great knowledge, which influences manufactures, as in France. Why is she superior in manufactures at Lyons? Because by state support she educates

youth to design. It came out in committee, and Peel and Hume both acknowledged our general ignorance in design was the reason of our inferiority."

"Now, my Lord, Lord Grey said there was no intention of taking down the tapestry. *It's down.* A new House must be built. Painting, sculpture, and architecture must be combined. Here's an opportunity that never can occur again. Burke said it would ultimately rest on a Minister. Have you no ambition to be that man?" He mused, but did not reply. "For God's sake, Lord Melbourne, do not let this slip—for the sake of Art—for your own sake—only say you won't forget Art. I'll undertake it for support during the time I am engaged, because it has been the great object of my life. I have qualified myself for it, and be assured, if High Art sinks, as it is sinking, all art will go with it." No reply. "Depend on my discretion. Not a word shall pass from me; only assure me it is not hopeless." Lord Melbourne glanced up with his fine eye, and looked into me, and said, "It is not."

'9th.—Sent down in the morning to know if Lord Melbourne could see me. He sent me back word he would receive me at one. At one I called, and saw him. The following dialogue ensued: "Well, my Lord, have you seen my petition to you?" "I have." "Have you read it?" "Yes." "Well, what do you say to it?" He affected to be occupied, and to read a letter. I said, "What answer does your Lordship give? What argument or refutation have you?" "Why, we do not mean to have pictures. We mean to have a building with all the simplicity of the ancients." (?) "Well," my Lord, what public building of the ancients will you point out without pictures? I fear, Lord Melbourne, since I first saw you, you are corrupted. You meet Academicians at Holland House. I am sure you do." He looked archly at me, and rubbed his hands. "I do. I meet Calcott. He is a good fellow." "Good enough: but an Academician." "Ha, ha," said Lord Melbourne. "Now, my Lord, do be serious." "Well, I am: Calcott says he disapproves of the system of patrons taking up young men to the injury of the old ones; giving them two or three commissions, and letting them die in a workhouse." "But if young men are never taken up, how are they to become known? But to return. Look at Guizot. He ordered four great pictures to commemorate the barricades for the government. Why will not the Government do that here? What is the reason, Lord Melbourne, that no English Minister is aware of the importance of Art to the manufactures and wealth of the country? I will tell you, my Lord,—you want tutors at the Universities"—I was going on talking eagerly with my hand up. At that moment the door opened, and in stalked Lord Brougham.' (Vol. ii. 336.)

This is very lively, very well done, and we have no doubt true as to word and fact. But Haydon was no profound judge of character, though of the manifestations of character in voice, figure, feature, he had a keen and quick perception. The

reverse is sometimes the case. We could mention those who have a most delicate appreciation of all the shades and depths of feeling and character, the external manifestations of which they are slow, almost dull in discerning. Lord Melbourne's was not a character for such a man as Haydon to fathom. He had indeed a perception of the sagacity under the indolent carelessness. Lord Melbourne smiled at zeal, and laughed outright at sentiment. It is as if his moral faith had early in life been killed through his affections, and that afterwards he played with ambition as with a toy. The *laissez-aller* principle, which he too generally applied to subjects of which he knew much, he was content to apply to Art, of which he knew nothing.

We find this incidental mention of Lord Cavendish (now Earl of Burlington):—

'Lord Cavendish sat and was ready to let me make any use of his face—three-parts of it, or half of it—and put him any where. Now when I contrast this with some of the City Committee, who march up to the picture, and say "put me there"—close to Lord Grey, it is really exquisite.'

It is so, and most happily characteristic. Of a sturdy provincial electioneering lawyer, who came up to sit, he says, 'He had the head of vulgar eagle!' These are masterly touches of the external signs of character.

On the whole, this opportunity, which Haydon had seized and made the most of, was apparently lost. On the subject of Art he found all his sitters, if not deaf, unimpressible; perhaps he did not know how to address these potential lords; perhaps the little interest which his picture inspired, when finished, was one reason why he could not make himself or his object more interesting. His own version is different. He says,—

'Public men shrink from discussion. They are so occupied with the fate of Nations, and their political relations, that truth, even on other points, seems unworthy investigation. Metaphysical inquiry they detest. Matters of taste they skim. Religion they consider only as an engine of State; and I do not think much extension of knowledge on general principles is to be acquired by intercourse with them. They are interesting from their rank and occupation; but a habit of having such mighty interests hanging on their decisions generates a contempt for abstract deduction and an indisposition to enter into matters of literature, art, and morals.' (Vol. ii. 327.)

The old Houses of Parliament having been burned in October 1834, Haydon in 1835 addressed a petition to the Building Committee of the 'Lords and Commons,' which was presented by Lord Morpeth (now Lord Carlisle). He begins with the usual reminder:—

‘It is now *nineteen* years since the Committee on the Elgin Marbles’—and then represents ‘that the obligation to rebuild the two Houses of Parliament will at last give to the Legislature the most favourable opportunity of developing the acknowledged talent now in England by State employment. That if spaces were assigned in the old House of Lords for designs in tapestry to commemorate a great national triumph (the defeat of the Spanish Armada), no just reason can be given why equal spaces should not be left in the new House for the commemoration by painting of other national subjects equally important.’

The immediate reception of this petition we do not know. Haydon’s pertinacity may possibly have had some share in producing Mr. Ewart’s Committee of Inquiry into ‘the best means’ ‘of extending a knowledge of the fine arts and of the principles’ ‘of design among the people, and also to inquire into the constitution of the Royal Academy.’ Haydon himself believed it, and his triumph was natural. In the self-same moment, while his wife was in her confinement, he had to send the tea-urn off the table to raise ten shillings for bread.

He does not tell us how the idea of delivering popular lectures on the Principles of Art first entered his mind, but it was a happy thought for him and for the public. He became celebrated as a lecturer; and lecturing became an important item in his means of subsistence. His language was vigorous and fluent, his delivery animated. He had that earnestness and self-assurance which fixes attention and begets confidence. He began by lecturing at the Mechanics’ Institute in London; afterwards at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Hull, Birmingham, and other large towns; everywhere he excited interest—often great enthusiasm. He was the first publicly to enforce the necessity of uniting the artist with the mechanic. There can be no doubt that, in extending this truth, he prepared the way for the Drawing Schools and Schools of Design, the Exhibitions at Marlborough House and Gore House, and other institutions for improving the taste and education of the people.

Amid all this activity and energy, we have sorrowful evidence that Haydon’s necessities and sudden changes of fortune, and wrongs, imaginary and real, were beginning to tell fearfully upon his constitution, his brain, his power of hand, and even his temper. He doted on his children; yet in one place he writes impatiently: ‘The voices of my children penetrate to my ‘brain!’ How he adored his art we have seen; yet in one of his miserable moments he almost imprecates a curse upon it:—

'Thank God with all my soul and all my nature, my children have witnessed the harassing agonies under which I have ever painted; and the very name of Painting — the very name of High Art — the very thought of a picture — gives them a hideous and disgusting taste in their mouths. Thank God, not one of my boys, nor my girl, can draw a straight line, even with a ruler, much less without one. And I pray God, on my knees, with my forehead bent to the earth, and my lips to the dust, that He will in His mercy, afflict them with every other passion, appetite, or misery, with wretchedness, disease, insanity, or gabbling idiotism, rather than a longing for painting — that scorned miserable art — that greater imposture than the human species it imitates !'

Every day he painted worse and worse — more hurriedly and heavily. He made small drawings, and hawked them about. Of his picture of 'Napoleon musing,' he painted not less than twenty-six small duplicates. He painted some portraits almost cursing his sitters. 'Did all,' as he says, 'that in early youth he had despised others for doing.' He begged, he borrowed: in the midst of his complaints of injustice no man ever received more kindness — more generous help. There is an outrageous letter to his excellent and forbearing landlord, Mr. Newton, which shows either absolute derangement, or that Haydon, as his biographer mildly expresses it, 'entertained very peculiar notions of the relations of debtor and creditor,' and views quite different from those which usually prevail with regard to money obligations. He expresses in one place a conviction that his worldly troubles were sent direct from the Almighty, not only as trials to himself, but that by rousing attention they should interest the nation and excite a sympathy through the artist for his darling object.

In 1836 he was again in the King's Bench, again went through the Insolvent Court, and was discharged without opposition — once more legally free.

In 1839 he received a commission from the Corporation of Liverpool to paint the Duke of Wellington musing on the field of Waterloo. The pressure of public business prevented the Duke from sitting for this picture immediately; but in October the following year he invited Haydon down to Walmer Castle; and Haydon, proud and delighted, set to work, having already prepared his composition and studies with conscientious care. The journal of his few days at Walmer Castle is interesting, but too long for insertion. On this picture, also, Wordsworth wrote a fine sonnet. Haydon afterwards painted a picture of Wordsworth musing on Helvellyn, and sent the sketch to Miss Barrett (now Mrs. Browning); and she also crowned his work

with a very beautiful sonnet. It cannot be said that Haydon was not glorified in his lifetime.

In 1840 he was called down to lecture at Oxford; and gratefully he thanks God 'for allowing him the distinction of being 'the first to break down the barrier which had hitherto kept Art 'out of the pale of our Universities.'

In 1841 he had a commission to paint a large picture of the Anti-Slavery Convention, including portraits of the venerable Clarkson, of O'Connell, and a great number of distinguished persons, English and American. It was of course a formal picture crowded with heads—no composition, no action. In portraits he did not excel; and our recollection of this picture in its progress, and afterwards is not pleasing—it did not please himself. He says, 'The delight I had in turning to one of my 'historical pictures, after I had got rid of that dreadful collection 'of faces is not to be described!' The human face divine was always a trouble to Haydon when he could not do what he liked with it. It was remarked, that in both his pictures of Napoleon and Wellington he had turned away the face.

In his Journal at this time there is an account of a visit to Clarkson, which is extremely interesting, full of sensible remarks on others, mixed up, however, with almost frantic exaggeration as regards himself and his own claims and merits.

We must hurry on. It is sad to trace along these pages the gathering gloom—the breaking up of the very foundations of life and reason, the resistance of the will, the sinking of the spirit. When the Fine Arts Committee sat and examined witnesses Haydon was not even called. He felt it deeply. He set about making experiments in fresco, and followed them up with sanguine resolutions, though requiring a kind of practice and manipulation quite new to him. He records, with strong expressions of gratitude, the considerate kindness of Sir Charles Eastlake in helping him, with all his experience and knowledge. He rejoices that in advancing the cause of High Art, Sir Charles will 'follow in his footsteps with more temper 'and prudence.' While thus half hoping, half despairing, the death of his old friend Wilkie seems to have shaken him to the depths of his soul, disturbing him with wild painful thoughts and regretful memories. From this time there is scarcely a day without some allusion to 'poor dear Wilkie—poor fellow!'

When, in 1843, the prizes were announced for the best cartoons of historical subjects, Haydon had to compete against younger men, formed in the German and Paris schools of drawing. He was unsuccessful. The blow struck home; he seems to have staggered under it, through his whole being. It is evident

that, when he went down to Westminster Hall to look at the Cartoons, the unwilling conviction was forced upon him that he was excelled. The suspicion that he was past doing great things came over him—a deep dejection followed. There are still flashes of hope—constant expression of trust in God—appeals to him against injustice—prayers for resignation to bear it; but he was a broken-hearted man. He had demanded, with a half-humorous, yet wild and passionate energy, to be allowed to do something, to have some little share in a triumph which, he believed, he had brought about. For thirty years he had been advocating the decoration of the House of Lords by native artists: he now asked, that ‘when the Houses were ready, cartoons done, colours mixed, and all at their posts, he should be allowed—*employed or not employed*—to take the *first* brush to dip into the *first* colours, and put the *first* touch on the *first* intonaco. Otherwise he threatens to haunt them all—commissioners, architect, secretary—all!’ He says, in another place, that he would have ground the colours for them rather than have been left out. But he *was* left out. Except in the hearts of one or two pitying friends, judgment and feeling were both against him.

Some of the entries into his Journal in these later years, when it became too evident that the harassed brain was giving way, have a sort of wild poetic spirit, which is extremely striking. We must extract one or two passages out of many. He thus laments over the necessities which had lowered his feeling for his own divine Art:—

‘Art with me is becoming a beastly vulgarity. The solitary grandeur of historical painting is gone. There was something grand, something poetical, something touching, something inspiring, something heroic, something mysterious, something awful, in pacing your quiet painting-room after midnight, with a great work lifted up on a gigantic easel, glimmering by the trembling light of a solitary candle, “when the whole world seemed adverse to desert.” There was something truly poetical in devoting yourself to what the vulgar dared not touch—holding converse with the Great Spirit—your heart swelling, your imagination burning, your being rising.’

Here is another lamentation to which we feelingly respond:—

‘Nov. 6., 1844.—Went to the National Gallery, and found the Rubens of Moses and the Brazen Serpent utterly ruined during the vacation; the whole of the tone and superb glazing rubbed off. It is one of his Italian pictures, painted at Genoa. What would Sir George and Sir Joshua say? They may talk as they please of the sufferings of humanity, but there is nothing so excites my sympathy as the helpless sufferings of a fine old picture of a great genius.

Unable to speak or remonstrate, touching all hearts by its dumb beauty, appealing to all sympathies by its silent splendour, laid on its back, in spite of its lustrous and pathetic looks taken out of its frame, stripped of its splendid encasement, fixed to its rack to be scraped, skinned, burnt, and then varnished in mockery of its tortures, its lost purity, its beautiful harmony; and then hung 'up again for living envy to chuckle over, whilst the shade of the mighty dead is allowed to visit and rest about his former glory, as a pang for sins not yet atoned for!'

One of the last things he did (April and May, 1846) was to open an exhibition containing two large pictures designed as decorations for the House of Lords, according to the plan he had sent Lord Melbourne: Democracy, illustrated by the banishment of Aristides; and Despotism, by Nero, burning Rome, together with a great number of drawings and sketches. This exhibition failed completely and left him again overwhelmed with debt. We cannot dwell on the evident pressure of the brain which followed. If ever despair reigned in the human soul, it did in Haydon's. He describes himself sitting for hours before his canvas, palette in hand, doing nothing, 'staring on it 'like an idiot;' or 'flying at his work like an inspired devil.' He wrote to Sir Robert Peel and others of his patrons: Sir Robert was prompt and kindly in his reply, sending him 50*l*. It came too late: anything, everything was too late. This was on the 16th of June. On the morning of the 22nd he was found dead in his painting-room at the foot of his easel. He had perished by his own hand.

Here we stop. There is no more to be said. Our impressions of Haydon's character as a man, of his merits and demerits as a painter, of the state in which he found, and the state in which he left the prospects of Art, of all that he achieved, of all in which he failed — may be gathered from the preceding pages. We now leave the reader to form his own conclusions; or if provoked to exasperation, or moved by a too painful pity, he find it difficult to hold the balance fairly, we refer him to the last pages of the biography, in which Mr. Taylor has ably and impartially summed up the pleadings for and against this remarkable and gifted man. He does not, perhaps, attach sufficient importance to the manifest presence of disease in accounting for so much that must otherwise remain unaccountable; but on the whole we concur in his estimate of the character. We confess to have ended this review in a gentler spirit than we began it. Haydon's faults were not undeservedly visited in this world; they brought down upon him their necessary inevitable consequences. But we are inclined to think that he has not

received justice for the higher qualities of his character—for the wonderful vigour and energy of his mind—the warmth, the truth, the tenacity of his affections; and we believe that this autobiography, from the general interest it has excited, will reverse, in some measure, the hard judgment that has been passed upon him.

ART. IX.—1. *Thoughts on the Subject of Bribery and Corruption at Elections.* By the Hon. G. F. S. ELLIOT. London: 1853.

2. *A short and sure Way of preventing Bribery at Elections.* By RIGBY WASON, Esq. Ayr: 1853.

3. *Is Bribery without a Remedy?* A Letter to Lord John Russell, &c. &c. By Sir J. EARDLEY WILMOT, Bart. London: 1853.

4. *Suggestions for a Conservative and Popular Reform in the Commons House of Parliament.* By AUGUSTUS G. STAPLETON. London: 1853.

5. *Parliamentary Reform; the Educational Franchise.* London: 1853.

6. *Reports and Minutes of Evidence taken before Election Committees,—Rye, Chatham, Plymouth, Berwick, and others.*

7. *Remarks on Treating, and other Matters relating to the Election of Members of Parliament.* By P. A. PICKERING. London: 1852.

IN two previous Papers on Representative Reform (Jan. and Oct. 1852), we endeavoured to prepare the way for practical action on this great question by a discussion of the main principles which lie at its foundation, and by an elimination of some popular fallacies which have extensively prevailed regarding it. We attempted to show that the subject was neither so simple nor so narrow as it had been represented; that some of its most important bearings and most difficult departments had been hitherto singularly overlooked; and that even those branches of it which had been the object of the longest and most earnest consideration, had never been adequately expounded. We endeavoured also to arrive at a few indisputable conclusions, and to lay down a few ascertained positions, which might serve as a basis—a starting-point—for our legislators and statesmen, whenever they should seriously address themselves to the perilous and solemn task of adjusting or reconstructing the Representative element of our Parlia-

mentary Constitution. We pointed out that the changes worked by the Reform Bill of 1832, however noiseless, had been vast, significant, and seminal; that the House of Commons had become far more imbued with popular opinions, far more sensitive to popular feeling, far more amenable to popular control; that its constitution was less exclusively *party*, and its discipline less peculiarly military, than before; that it showed a strong and natural tendency to usurp many of the ministerial functions, and thereby to incur much of the ministerial responsibility. We called attention, also, to the momentous fact that, in proportion as it was becoming more and more democratic in its constitution, it was becoming more and more supreme in its jurisdiction; that while it more fully represented the people, it also more entirely monopolised the functions of the three branches of the Legislature; that in fact—looking at our old Constitution as a mixed one—we had for some time been *burning the candle at both ends*. We discussed fully both the claims and the consequences of universal or ‘complete’ suffrage: and proved that, while the supposed *right* of every citizen to the electoral franchise could be made good by no consistent or tenable reasoning, the concession of that right, so far from being an indefeasible guarantee of liberty, might be made the surest instrument of despotism. We showed that the idea which lies at the root of our Electoral System in Great Britain is, and has always been—not the representation of numbers, nor yet that of property,—but that of *classes*; that the adoption of either of the former as a basis would lead to results little foreseen by our Liberals, and from which the most liberal would shrink back aghast; that while the great blot, drawback, and want of the actual Parliamentary suffrage is the inadequate admission within its pale of the labouring classes, the removal of this injustice and defect must be managed with judgment and with caution; that, while the aim and the operation of the measure of 1832 was to place the representation in the hands of the middle classes, any such general and decided lowering of the voting qualification, as was commonly asked for, would take the representation out of the hands of those classes, and would be, in truth, not an advancing but a retrogressive step; and that a 5*l.* franchise would not, as was imagined, be the continuance, confirmation, and extension of the 10*l.* franchise, but its reversal, negation, and discomfiture. While not coldly admitting, but anxiously urging, that an extension of the Parliamentary suffrage to our working classes was both necessary, desirable, and just, we pointed out—what recent disclosures have so signally confirmed—that the thing specially

needed was not a *lowering*, but an elevation and *purification*, of the franchise; and we hinted that, not only might the two objects be combined, but that the one might be made the means and the security of the other,—inasmuch as among those now virtually or actually excluded, are to be found sounder, healthier, and higher electoral elements than many now within the pale. Finally,—taking our stand on the conclusions at which we seemed to have logically arrived, and on the principles which we conceived we had irrefragably established,—we ventured to suggest two or three broad and simple practical measures by the adoption of which, or, at least, by a movement in the direction of which, the great ultimate object which all sincere reformers have in view, might, in our judgment, be most effectually secured; by which the really worthy, competent, and educated of all ranks should be blended in one comprehensive and respectable constituency, and those only should be left destitute of the electoral franchise, who neither value it sufficiently to make any effort for its attainment, nor manifest any of the qualifications, from which we can infer that, if they possessed it, they would exercise it in a right spirit, or for their own interests, or for their country's good.

At the period when those papers appeared, the interest once so generally felt in the subject of Parliamentary Reform was languid or asleep; other topics had elbowed it for a time out of the public mind; and measures of a more urgent and practical character absorbed the attention both of the Legislature and the Nation;—nor should we have dreamed of entering so largely into the question, had not a pledge been volunteered by the Administration of Lord John Russell, to bring forward a comprehensive proposal on the first feasible occasion. Now, however, the position of the question is altogether changed: the circumstances of the last general election have again lifted it into prominence and paramount importance; dormant interest is once more aroused; the blots and defects of the existing system have been forced upon our notice with an importunity which will take no denial; and the presentation of seventy-six petitions, the unseating of thirty-six Members for bribery or other undue practices, and the disclosures of the general and widespread corruption practised at elections—long known to the initiated, but never before so laid bare to the public at large—have startled both the Government and the People into a fresh access of vigilance and zeal, and concentrated the general attention upon one branch of the wide question. The extension of the franchise is no longer held forth as the cardinal point, the head and front, of a new Reform Bill:—the suppression of

bribery and other corrupt influences is now felt to be the problem most imperatively calling for solution. No measure which does not fairly and manfully grapple with this giant evil, will be worthy of the reputation of the Administration which stands pledged to bring it forward, or will have the smallest chance of meeting acceptance with the country.

The New Reform Bill, which is promised for an early period of next Session, and which Ministers must diligently employ their autumn leisure in concocting, will have to deal with three several points—the *extension*, the *re-distribution*, and the *purification* of the Franchise;—it must decide who shall possess the suffrage; under what divisions, and in what localities that suffrage shall be exercised; and how that exercise shall be guarded and secured. Of these three problems the last is the one which at present excites the principal interest, and to which we propose chiefly to address ourselves;—and it will not improbably appear, on close consideration, that the readiest, surcest, and perhaps only possible solution of it is to be found in our mode of dealing with the other two.

And, first, let us clear our way, and diminish our work by one preliminary observation:—We are not—thank God we have never yet been—please God we never shall be—in the position in which our French neighbours find themselves every four or five years,—that namely, of having to construct a constitution wholly afresh; to write upon white paper; to create as it were a world out of nothing. *Carte blanche* is a condition happily unknown to our politicians. In the immediate case before us our limitations both as philosophers and as statesmen are fixed: we have to amend, to engraft, to modify, to curtail—not to reconstruct. We may therefore dismiss wholly from consideration all those projects and suggestions which would deserve the most sedulous and impartial examination were we, called upon to deal *ab initio* with an infant state, or to frame a substitute for some utterly annihilated and unrevivable régime,—all schemes, however ingenious, plausible, profound or just, which presuppose a demolition of the existing framework of our polity. Universal suffrage, annual parliaments, the franchise of women, and the like, we put aside at once, as changes which, since no Legislature will listen to them, it would be idle for us to discuss and silly to pronounce upon. The same may be said with respect to ‘Electoral Districts’—a favourite idea with many, and one which we discussed fully on a previous occasion; because, though we by no means wish to decide that the plan may not adduce many strong arguments in its favour, and that some such division (if based not on population, but on area, or on area and

population combined,) might not be found of great indirect benefit in eliminating corrupt and sinister influences—it yet involves far too wide a departure from our traditional ideas and time-honoured arrangements to be seriously and patiently entertained. Our sole aim in the following remarks will be to offer such small practical assistance as it may be in our power to render to our statesmen in the knotty task which lies before them. We shall confine ourselves to the really feasible: what it would be impossible to carry, we shall hold it useless to suggest.

In the creation of a House of Commons at the present day, theory and practice are somewhat discrepant. In theory, our sovereign issues a writ to certain counties and boroughs, desiring them to select from among their residents one, two or more individuals qualified to represent their wants and to advise with the monarch and the peers on the government of the realm. In practice, certain parties or sections, having their own grievances to redress or their own opinions to make good, look out for representatives who will serve their purpose, and endeavour to secure the election of these representatives by various licit or illicit means:—or certain politicians, having their own personal objects to serve or their own laudable ambition to gratify by a seat in Parliament, labour to induce different constituencies to return them by persuasives and pressure of various sorts—sometimes less honourable than the object they are designed to subserve. The influences and allurements brought to bear upon the electors in order to affect their choice are of various kinds,—some legitimate, some immoral, some not altogether undue in their nature but exercised to an undue degree, some of a nature which it is not easy to class peremptorily under any of these categories. Sometimes votes are purchased by hard cash,—sometimes they are obtained by the promise of a private or a Government appointment; sometimes the elector is cajoled out of his suffrage by ‘soft sawder’—sometimes by oratorical flummery—sometimes by dishonourable beer; often votes are obtained by fraud—oftener by force; the tenant is pressed by the well-founded fear of losing his farm—the workman is coerced by the threat of being dismissed from his employment—the shopman by the dread of losing his custom—the debtor by the prospect of being called upon to pay an inconvenient debt; the courteous voter is influenced by the wish to oblige a neighbour—the poor man by the wish to show respect and gratitude to a kind and considerate landlord,—the ignorant man, if he is humble, by deference to the arguments of those he knows to be honest and well-informed—if he is vain and sus-

picious, by the representations of the inflammatory spouters,—property, custom, money, hope, gratitude, wisdom, virtue, the high arts of the statesman, the low arts of the demagogue—all play their part in the great struggle, all exercise their influence over the choice of the hapless elector. To obtain a perfectly spontaneous and unbiassed choice, *all* these extrinsic influences ought to be suppressed; but this is at once felt to be impossible, even were it desirable: voters will always be open to cajolery, to deception, to interest, to persuasion, to personal affection; the notion of meeting these influences has therefore never been seriously entertained;—but simple bribery or barefaced intimidation,—being so scandalous, so disgraceful and so apparently preventable,—have had legislative thunderbolts hurled at them for generations—and hitherto in vain. It appears that electoral corruption commenced in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and that, beginning with a standing order of the House of Commons in 1677, no less than *ten* distinct Acts (enumerated by Sir E. Wilmot) have been passed to punish and prevent it, besides a variety of enactments enumerated by Mr. Elliot regulating the mode of judging of elections petitioned against for bribery:—with what effect we may learn from the fact that, between 1833 and 1853, no less than 323 elections had been petitioned against; that of these petitions 82 resulted in unseating the members for corrupt practices; and that at the last general election petitions were presented from 76 places; and that 36 members were unseated in consequence*;—and finally, that it has been stated publicly by the most experienced electioneering agents, and is commonly believed, that were the law strictly carried out, and the circumstances of every election scrupulously inquired into, scarcely a single member could retain his seat. When to these facts we add that several writs have been suspended, and two places disfranchised for notorious and inveterate corruption, we have said enough to justify the conclusion that there must have been some strange misconception or misdirection in all our previous efforts to enforce purity of election, and that in order to discover a remedy, we must go rather more deeply than we have hitherto done into the analysis of the disorder. Instead, therefore, of professing a pious but unavailing horror at the charge of bribery, instead of veiling our faces before it as a thing scarcely to be recognised or named, or hurling against it solemn but waste and futile enactments, let us look it fairly and coolly in the face, as an evil and a wrong beyond question, but still an evil naturally incidental to and long inwoven into the essence of our

* Parl. Paper, 431. (May 2. 1853.)

representative system—an evil to be removed if removal is possible, and, if not, to be mitigated and minimised as we best may;—a wrong of which the real gravamen is, not that it vitiates the constitution of the House of Commons, or sends a class of men who ought not to be there and would not be there under a purer system, but that it makes the process of choosing those men an awfully demoralising one to the electors. As Mr. Carlyle somewhere exhorts his readers: ‘O beloved brother ‘blockheads of mankind, let us cease shrieking and begin considering!’

A few reflections will suffice to make clear to us both the condition of affairs in which bribery originates, and the reason why all penal enactments have hitherto proved ineffectual to check it. Why have our laws, our menaces, our fines been so unavailing and inoperative? Certainly not from any lack either of number, of ingenuity, or of severity. A candidate convicted of bribery is incapacitated from sitting in the existing Parliament, and the career on which he had entered is temporarily or altogether closed to him. A member in whose behalf, without any cognisance or participation on his part, bribery has been committed, even of the most trivial sort and in a single instance, is not only unseated but incurs an expense—that is a fine—varying from 1000*l* to 3000*l*. Any person found guilty of either receiving or offering a bribe, is punishable by a fine of 500*l*. with imprisonment in default of payment—half the penalty to be the reward of the informer. Yet still the sin flourishes unchecked,—public, notorious, and almost avowed:—‘a pestilence that walketh at noon-day.’ Why is this—but because the public voice refuses to ratify the statute law; because the broad sense and common feeling of the nation cannot be brought—or has not yet been brought—to stigmatise electoral corruption as an infamous or ignominious crime; because, in the society in which members of Parliament ‘live and move, ‘and have their beings,’ the standard of morality regards it as a venial offence; because, in a word, the great tribunal to which we are all amenable—the only one whose condemnation we really fear and whose sentences we always carry into effect—while theoretically frowning on the sin, practically and habitually absolves the sinner?

And why does it do so? ‘It is very true,’ we hear it objected, ‘that this scandalous offence is regarded with the scandalous leniency you describe; but the reason is that the law ‘has never yet affixed to it the degrading punishment which it ‘so well deserves. Once visit bribery with a penalty which no ‘gentleman will dare to encounter—once subject the perpetrator

‘ of it to an indelible disgrace—declare him for ever incapable
‘ of serving his sovereign or appearing in public life — once im-
‘ mure him in the common gaol and clothe him in the prison
‘ dress—and you will have *created* the moral standard—you will
‘ have formed the public opinion which you need.’—We entirely
concede the force of this representation. It is unhappily un-
deniable that the moral sense of most men—Englishmen as
much as any—is a capricious and unreasonable thing. Their
code of conscience is in a manner made for them by the world.
Their principles of virtue and honour are often strangely con-
ventional. Sins that public opinion does not visit with heavy
reprobation, and on which the law does not inflict severe
penalties, become in their eyes either venial sins or no sins at all.
Perjuries, jobs, and corruptions which outrage every Christian
precept and every patriotic duty, are practised by men other-
wise respectable and honourable with only the faintest and
dimmest conception of wrong-doing, till really disagreeable or
ignominious punishment—richly deserved in the eye of morality
and long perhaps formally assigned by law—is actually inflicted;
—when the torpid conscience is awakened and an entire change
of estimate takes place. We see and judge ourselves according
to the mirror which reflects us; and if that mirror showed us
clad in dust-coloured flannel, with a disfiguring vizard over our
face, and weaving in a cell at Pentonville, doubtless our self-
condemnation would be tremendously severe. But it is difficult
to look upon anything as *very* wrong which is habitually done,
and seldom or leniently punished. The instant, however, that
a crime or misdemeanour, long connived at and tacitly allowed,
is steadily, severely, and unsparingly dealt with by the ad-
ministration of justice, its true character is recognised and
sealed, and it takes rank henceforth among *unpermissible* of-
fences.—But all this is little to the purpose; for this simple and
obvious reason—that the very same state of public feeling
which has hitherto caused bribery to be so leniently dealt with,
will effectually prevent the infliction of any such savage punish-
ment as those suggested: the same social opinion which has
rendered inoperative the laws already existing will *à fortiori*
forbid the enactment of any still more sweeping and severe.

Now, public opinion, though often warped, is seldom wholly
irrational. Though rarely irreproachable, it has always some
sound and wholesome instinct at its foundation. Its acquittals
and condemnations, though sometimes in defiance both of the
Church and of the Law, are generally based upon some broad,
just, simple principle of judgment. Let us see whether this
may not be so in the case before us. We incline to believe

that it is; and we request a calm and unprejudiced consideration for the following remarks.

In the first place, the great fact that lies at the root of bribery, as of all other undue influences brought to bear upon parliamentary elections, is this,—that a seat in the Legislature is an object of personal ambition, of earnest desire, on the part of the candidate. It is so naturally, it is so honourably and justifiably, it is so rationally; it is so perhaps more than rationally. We do not blame or wonder at the man who aspires to the magistracy, who covets and solicits a post of dignity and trust under the Government, who endeavours to obtain an appointment in the Colonies or in the Judicature—even though these are accompanied by pecuniary remuneration, which a seat in Parliament is not. It is a great thing to serve a great country: long may it be so regarded. To share in the administration and the legislation for an Empire like that of Britain is—no man can deny it—an object of laudable desire, of righteous ambition, of legitimate exertion, to every man whose position and capacities fit him for public life. Very well: on this object he sets his heart; to attain this object he is willing to make great efforts, to incur mortal annoyances, to undergo much labour, to encounter many sacrifices; he binds his whole energies to the task; *he is naturally grateful to all who aid him in his purpose*; he contracts an unavoidable feeling of sympathy and regard for those who fight by his side through an arduous and exciting contest: he feels—he cannot help feeling—he would be a barbarian if he did not feel—*obliged* to those whose support has placed him where he so longed to be; he desires to reward those to whom he owes his success;—they have furthered his objects: he naturally wishes to further theirs. The law forbids him to do this, or to promise to do this: it commands him to confine his gratitude to ‘words and becks and wreathed smiles;’ it says to him, ‘you shall show no hospitality to those who are toiling and sweating in your cause: if you give them a breakfast you shall be unseated; if you are detected in paying their expenses, or compensating them for the day’s wages they have lost, or the mischievous enmity they have incurred in your service, you shall be fined and punished.’—Well! the verdict of public opinion will not ratify this language of the law: is it wholly unreasonable in this refusal?

While the election is yet pending, the candidate discovers that some zealous adherent who—possibly out of pure regard or political convictions—is wearing out body and soul in his service, is harassed by the demand for payment of some trifling debt, or has a respectable son whom he wants to place in the

Excise Department or the Post Office; — is he so very guilty, so very unworthy of the society of gentlemen, if he privately pays the debt, or lends his supporter 5*l.* to pay it, or applies through an influential quarter for the humble appointment, — and thus does something, which is very easy, for the voter or committeeman who is doing so much, which is very toilsome and disagreeable, for him? Yet this is bribery: the law forbids it—*must* forbid it: but can we wonder that public feeling lags behind the law?

After an election in which you have been the winning candidate — after a hot contest which has terminated in placing you on a pinnacle whence you see all the kingdom of your loftiest hopes spread out before you — a poor but most energetic and effectual supporter, to whom perhaps you owe in a great measure your success, comes to you and says: ‘Sir, in consequence of my exertions on your behalf, a loan which was all important to me has been suddenly called in; or my landlord has given me notice to quit; or my employer has peremptorily dismissed me, and my family is destitute: — I helped you: will you not help me?’ Can you, ought you, to refuse? Yet if you aid him by a loan, relieve him by a gift, or procure or promise him a place, and if your doing so can be in any way connected by adequate evidence with what you cannot deny to have been its real cause and antecedent, *viz.* his support of you; and if you do this within the specified limitation of time; — and still more if in anticipation of such pressure you had previously given him any hopes that you would do this; — you are guilty of corruption in the eye of the law. You may manage the arrangement skilfully so as not to be found out; or you may manage it so clumsily as to bring yourself within the fangs of justice; but the offence is essentially the same. And the broad fact remains that, in all these cases, and in a dozen others that might be specified, and that will occur to the recollection of all who are experienced in such matters, the law forbids you to do that which your sense of gratitude, your feelings of humanity, your sentiments of justice, your instinct as a gentleman, all insist upon your doing. And the law, if it is not to be a mere mockery, *must* forbid all these things: it must guard every point; it must denounce every disguise under which the offence might creep in. Yet we feel all the while, irresistibly though indistinctly, that, if this be the law, the law cannot be right — if this be corruption, some forms of corruption at least cannot be so very wrong. And public opinion demurs when it is called upon to stigmatise and degrade a man for doing that which he would be held shabby, faithless and ungrateful if he did *not* do.

Secondly. There is no doubt a kind of bribery—systematic, profligate, and shameless—in condemnation of which public sentiment will re-echo all the denunciations of public law. Where electors have conscientious political convictions, but are placed by their poverty within the temptation to deny and betray them, and where they are sought out, urged, and beset by the pertinacious offer of money or money's worth to strain their consciences, and to violate their trust—where *virtue* is tampered with, and genuine honesty besieged into surrender—the law might be as severe as it pleased, and the general conscience would sanction its severity—at least against the seducers, if not against their victims. There is also, no doubt, a class of professional offenders to be crushed and branded as a public pestilence—men who have reduced electoral corruption to a system and a science—who poison wholesome and hitherto untainted constituencies—and contract for iniquity by the job. For agents of this sort, who have neither the elector's plea of poverty nor the candidates' palliation of ambition, we have no clemency in reserve. But unhappily the law cannot distinguish between offences and offenders of this deep dye, and those whiter ones of which we have before spoken. It must menace all alike; it must be comprehensive and minute; it must prohibit equally that bribery for which there is every excuse, and that for which there is none: it must include within its definitions that *understood* gratitude for electoral support at which purity itself can scarcely frown, and that open purchase of reluctant votes which the most lax profligacy would not dream of defending. Otherwise the wolf would inevitably creep into the fold under the sheep's clothing; the heinous crime would be perpetrated under the disguise of the harmless and natural transaction. But the public instinct draws a broad distinction between the two, and refuses to confound them in one common detestation. Any amount of treating or compensation for lost time has been pronounced to be corruption by recent decisions. But when a wealthy gentleman, or a zealous politician, says to his poorer neighbours, oh whom a low qualification or the accident of birth may have conferred the franchise: 'Come and breakfast with me, and I will take you to the poll, and we will then come back and drink together to the success of "our man;"'—we find it impossible to recognise any moral depravity in the transaction, though fully admitting that fraud and danger *may* lurk under it. Again: the poor elector, in the county generally and often in the town, cannot in practice give his vote without the loss of a day's wages which often he can ill afford, and for his family's sake perhaps

ought not to encounter. It is unsafe no doubt, and might open the door to too much corruption, were we to admit and legalise the plea; but *the plea is, or may be, a valid and an honest one*; and it is impossible to say that the candidate or the friendly politician, who admits it and acts upon it, commits an infamous or criminal offence, or ought to be, or will ever by public sentiment be permitted to be, visited with an ignominious or degrading penalty. The truth thus again recurs upon us, that, in all attempts to prohibit bribery by positive enactment, you must forbid and punish transactions *which the common conscience of mankind will not recognise as wrong*. Public opinion, and the law which ought to be its exponent, and of which it ought to be the executor, ratifier, and guarantee, are obstinately at variance.

In the third place, it is generally recognised that there are some cases of even open and undisguised bribery—and these the most common of all—in which the offence, indefensible as it undoubtedly still is, will not by the general judgment of mankind be pronounced as heinous in reality as it is in theory. The corruptible part of each constituency is generally a section by itself. It consists, in an overwhelming proportion, of men already known, stigmatised and counted upon; of men whose votes have always been in their eyes a private property to be sold—not a public trust to be exercised; of men who have no political convictions and scarcely any personal predilections. On the day of election they cluster in particular localities waiting till towards the close of the poll, to see whether they are ‘wanted,’ and what is the highest price they can extort from needy and hard-pressed candidates. Such are the ‘Long-shore’ men of London: such are numbers of the freemen of Liverpool. Sometimes the election is decided without them: they are not required, or demand too high a price for their services. But in any case and at all times they are mere *condottieri*—mercenaries wholly indifferent to either cause,—‘labourers worthy of their hire’—men who would never dream of voting on any side without an adequate ‘consideration,’ and whose utmost preference or predilection never stretches further than perhaps accepting a few shillings less from a popular than an unpopular candidate.* Now, whatever law and principle

* We have heard of cases somewhat different from these, but coming under the same classification, of voters whose principles were fixed, and who never swerved from them, but who thought themselves cheated and ill-used if they did not receive five shillings from the candidate they supported—nay, who insisted on their regular fee, whether there was a contest or not, and who could not be brought to

may say, common sense and common justice revolt from visiting with the same degree or sort of moral reprobation, or of penal infliction, the senator who has bribed sincere and earnest political partisans to vote against their conscience, and the senator who has merely purchased voters of the class we are describing, who have no political conscience at all. There is a difference, and a wide difference, between the guilt of the two transactions: the same difference that exists between the man who avails himself of the ready complaisance of the woman whose person has been long on sale, and the man who undermines and destroys the virtue of the innocent and unstained girl; between him who 'causes one of those little ones to offend,' and him who merely profits by the proffered services of the hardened criminal; between him who seduces an honest soldier from his allegiance to his country or his standard, and him who simply bargains for the support of mercenary troops. There can be no doubt that the transaction in question is reprehensible; there can be no doubt that it is one which a high and pure-minded patriot will decline; there can be no doubt that he who dabbles in such things is practising and sanctioning what must be designated as corruption; but the sophistry which is so loquacious, so ingenious, and so readily listened to during the excitement of election contests is not slow to whisper that, whereas the sin of the man who corrupts an honest voter by a money bribe, must lie heavy on his conscience, and lies on his alone, the sin of the man who only purchases the notoriously and inveterately venal, must be shared in a liberal proportion with the constitution which invested such men with the franchise, and the parliament which, in spite of experience, warning, and remonstrance, has persisted in retaining them on the Register. If you continue to give votes to men who *will* vote only from pecuniary inducements—who have no other conception of the suffrage than as a property which bears a market value once in every four or five years—it is idle to expect that others should abstain from offering them those inducements—should refuse to give, for that which they want, that for which alone it will be bartered. Such palliative reasoning is sophistry no doubt: but it is sophistry which finds so ready an echo in every man's breast, that we cannot be surprised that the public should decline to visit

see the impropriety of the transaction. One witness gave in evidence before the Peterborough Election Committee, that he applied in all confidence for the 'crown' habitually given to voters, though he had voted against the candidate of the noble Earl who was supposed to be the furnisher of the said 'crowns.'

with severe or degrading penalties the candidate who listens to it in moments of over-mastering temptation.

Again: there are certain recollections which naturally enough dispose all admirers of our representative system, and especially those who are cognisant of some of the routine details of its operation, to pause before they join in the present vehement denunciations of all undue electoral influences. They can scarcely disguise from themselves that some such influences—in some such mitigated shape at least as it is not easy by any clear definition to distinguish from virtual corruption—are inherent in and apparently inseparable from the system on which parliamentary government is carried on. The Ministry has, as is well known, in this country, as in every other, a vast number of places at its disposal. There are appointments in the Post Office, in the Police and Consular Departments, in the Customs and Inland Revenue, and in other branches of administration, in the gift of the various chief officers of the State. We have, also, as is well known, a Minister of high position and emolument—a Secretary of the Treasury, a *recognised public functionary*—whose special and avowed business it is to look after the distribution of the subordinate patronage of the Government, amounting to about 450 appointments annually; the majority of which are petty offices in the Revenue departments. To him applications are made: through him most business of this sort is transacted. Of course, in theory and by right, the distribution of this large patronage ought to be determined by merit and competency alone; it should be the business of this Secretary of the Treasury, not only to investigate the qualification of every candidate for every appointment, but to search out and select the fittest man who can be found. In the higher appointments some approach to this is made: in the mass of cases it is of course impossible. The greater number of the places require no special qualifications in those who are to fill them: fifty or sixty men may be wishing for them, one as fit as another. In what manner then are these numerous appointments distributed? Naturally enough, and inevitably though not avowedly, with reference to parliamentary support. For example; appointments to county post offices are offered to the county member who supports the Government; and he distributes them directly or mediately among those constituents who have supported him. A constituent wants a place in the Excise or the Police for his son: he applies to the member for whom he voted; the member goes to the Secretary of the Treasury and asks for the place; and the Secretary—distracted between numberless

applications—obliges him if he can.* Or, probably, in the course of a long canvass the member has become acquainted with the wants and wishes of his most energetic supporters, as regards the advancement of their family or their own little ambitions, and he is naturally glad of an opportunity of obliging them. If, therefore, he be of the same way of thinking with the party in power, and if he generally votes with them, he naturally claims from the Secretary of the Treasury his share in the public patronage. But does the simple public suppose that this claim is ever preferred by the *opponents* of the Government? that these applications are habitually made by electors who have voted *against* the sitting member? By no means, or rarely. If a hostile constituent came to his representative on such an errand, it would naturally be inferred that he intended to vote for him at the next election. If an opposition member applied to the Secretary of the Treasury for a place for one of his supporters, that astute gentleman would promise the place at once—accepting the application as a delicate intimation that the recusant senator was beginning to see the error of his ways. All this is perfectly well understood: it is understood that the ordinary patronage of the Government will be distributed according to the recommendations of the parliamentary supporters of that Government; and it is understood that these recommendations will be given on behalf of those electors ‘who ‘have voted ‘right.’ This is not corruption, perhaps; but it is distributing patronage not according to merit but according to interest—and tacitly proclaiming that patronage will be so distributed—conduct, which it would require a subtle logician to exclude from any intelligible definition of corruption. It is true that the Secretary must not *promise* to give places in exchange for parliamentary support; but it is *understood* that he reserves them only for supporters: it is true a candidate must not *promise* to exercise his influence with the Secretary in favour of those who vote for him; but it is *known* that he will so restrict his influence; and between a tacit understanding, a significant nod,

*. Observe; we do not say, for we do not think, that Government has too many of such places at its disposal. We do not say that these places can be called jobs, or patronage, in the sense of being overpaid; on the contrary we believe that they are generally underpaid. We do not say that the country does not get full value received for every one of these appointments; on the contrary, we conceive that the country is a hard task master, and a shabby paymaster. But the fact remains, that, valuable or not, these appointments are *sought*, and are distributed mainly among the political supporters of the Ministry for the time being.

and an open promise, the distinction is not so vast or marked that the one is permissible, avowable and just, and the other iniquitous, penal, and degrading. The public conscience—which looks at such things broadly and not technically—according to intrinsic character, not according to conventional rules—obstinately refuses to create a ‘great gulf’ between the two. Hence it was that the House of Commons refused to order the Attorney-general to prosecute Sir Frederick Smith for promising a place in the Post Office to an elector. Members felt that they could not decently consign a man to conviction and punishment for doing that incautiously which they themselves had often done virtually—for promising to do that which every one of them had done repeatedly without promising—for giving a distinct pledge when they, like men of sense and caution, had contented themselves with a tacit understanding. Observe: we do not mean to argue that it is not sinful as well as illegal to purchase a man’s vote by the promise of a place; or that there is not a vital and a wide distinction between promising a place to an elector beforehand, in order to induce him to vote for you, and procuring it for him subsequently, because he has voted for you; but we do say that Englishmen will never consent to visit a man with severe condemnation or ignominious punishment for having done the one, while they acquit, honour, and obey the men who habitually do the other. In the one case I go to the Secretary of the Treasury to solicit an appointment for a man who has supported me—this being a daily, recognised, expected, and well-understood proceeding: in the other case I commit an unnecessary folly, and promise him that I will do this, if he supports me:—it *cannot* be that in the former case I am an honourable and stainless senator, and in the other a corrupt and infamous criminal. If I have bribed the man to *vote against his conscience*, by the expectation of a place, I have been very guilty, whether I made a direct promise, or merely allowed him to argue from the habitual rule to his own individual case; but if I have only gratified a conscientious supporter, I cannot be very severely condemned, even if I have been so gratuitously imprudent and illegal as to pledge myself beforehand that I would so gratify him. This, at least, will be the general judgment of the public; and therefore we say that, so long as you have a recognised and highly paid Minister, whose business it is to distribute Government Patronage according to the requests and recommendations of Government supporters; and so long as it is the recognised and uncondemnable custom for Members of Parliament to exercise these recommendations on behalf of their *friendly* constituents almost exclusively, the feeling of the

country will not bear you out in visiting heavily a species of electoral corruption which only differs from this recognised and avowed system of patronage distribution, by promising to do that in the individual case which, without a promise, it is known will be done as the habitual rule. The distinction is admitted to be a real one; but it is not broad enough for the vast consequences you would deduce from it.

In truth, the practice which really constitutes the *essence* of electoral corruption—namely, the barter, direct or circuitous, of a vote for a ‘consideration’—the explicit or understood agreement between the elector and the elected that the ‘good things’ in the gift of the latter shall be distributed among the former—that I will gratify those who support me—is too general and constant in England to excite that degree of moral reprobation with which perhaps, if we judge these matters by a scrupulously righteous standard, it ought to be regarded. Senatorial sinners are kept in countenance by others. Take the case of the East India Directors. Their position is at least as responsible as that of Members of Parliament, and their influence for good or evil far greater. They are in name, and to a great extent in fact, the governors of a mighty Empire. They initiate, if they do not finally decide, the policy on which hang the destinies of 100,000,000 of people. Rightly viewed, their post is one which carries with it the most awfully solemn obligations. They have the appointment of all the subordinate officers who administer justice and revenue over a vast extent of territory, and each of whom has an appalling power of producing the happiness or misery of many thousands of the natives who are subject to his rule. Every man chosen for the direction should feel that he has undertaken a trust which can only be duly fulfilled by a union of the most careful diligence with the strictest conscientiousness, and that he is bound by every consideration of duty and benevolence to consult merit alone in the appointment of those to whom he delegates so wide and despotic a jurisdiction, and to confer his writerships and cadetships on the best and most promising young men he can select, unbiassed either by fear or favour. Every shareholder, too, should feel at least as strongly as Parliamentary Electors, when called upon to choose a director who is to execute so mighty an office, that no private consideration, no regard for the prospects of this son or that nephew, can be permitted to warp his decision, or to guide his vote towards any but the most competent and honourable candidate. Yet what is the fact. Directors can only obtain a seat at the Board after years of painful and ignominious canvass; it is not only notorious but avowed that, in

many cases, personal motives exclusively decide the contest; and the fittest and most experienced public servants are frequently rejected to make way for the nominees of bankers and influential merchants. But this is not all, nor the worst: in the course of their canvass for a seat in the Direction, the candidates have generally to purchase votes or influence by the (tacit) promise of appointments, so that when they arrive at the envied honour, they often find that their patronage—vast as it is—is virtually mortgaged for many years to come. There is no secret about this: it has been made the subject of bitter complaint both by the Directors and the friends of India:—still, it is done systematically; it is done publicly; it has been done long;—yet little blame is showered upon the shareholders, and no ignominy is felt to attach to the Directors. And no one, we opine, can pretend to discover any valid distinction between their case and that of Parliamentary candidates and Parliamentary electors who barter patronage and votes,—unless indeed we held that India is the private patrimony of the East India Company,—to be maltreated and mismanaged as they will. How then can we expect that public opinion which exonerates the one should severely stigmatise the other?

Another consideration, also, inevitably withholds public sentiment from sanctioning the enactment of any very stringent laws against bribery at elections,—or at least the rigorous execution of such laws,—the consideration, namely, that these laws can only strike the *least guilty*; that they catch the smaller offenders and let the more heinous ones go free; that they punish the poor and the clumsy, but allow the rich and the ingenious to escape;—a result which is revolting to the good feeling of Englishmen and their strong sense of justice and love of fair play. The labouring man who accepts 5s. as a compensation for the loss of his day's work, which was worth probably only two; the indigent artisan who, with a large family and scanty earnings, cannot refuse the offer of a 5*l.* note—'whose poverty, but not his will consents;' the venal freeman, who has never been taught any notions of public duty, who has no political opinions at all, and whose 'price' is a matter of course; the thirsty or hungry ploughman who is glad enough to eat for a day at another man's expense,—these may be easily exposed and punished. Even the subordinate *employers*, who do the direct dirty work of distributing head-money, may often be detected. But the principal agent—the professional man—he who organises the system of corruption and reduces bribery to a science—he who arranges the whole plan by which the constituency is to be depraved and its voice falsified and

annulled—the *real* and the very guilty offender—can never be tracked home and seized, if he be skilful in his subterranean craft and judicious in the selection of his tools. You may occasionally, though rarely, catch a Morgan; but a ‘W. B.’ or the agent who furnishes the money according to ‘W. B.’s’ directions, cannot in one case out of a hundred be laid hold of. And the candidate—not always indeed the chief promoter of bribery, but certainly the one who chiefly profits by it,—is studiously kept in ignorance of all illicit transactions, and in real truth is seldom made aware of their occurrence except by the presentation of his bills some months after the election. Then there are cases, of constant occurrence, though of rare publicity, in which not the poor and ignorant but the wealthy and educated are concerned,—where electoral influence is made the means of obtaining a place or of bargaining for a baronetcy,—when a ‘respectable’ citizen, who can command the dozen votes which turn the election, desires a consular appointment for a son whom it is convenient to expatriate, and, if his candidate is a ministerialist, is sure to obtain it,—where a certain sum is subscribed from ‘friendly zeal’ to the expenses of a contest, and the subscriber receives out of ‘natural gratitude’ an empty honour on which he had long set his heart. These are cases of bribery which the law cannot reach, because no evidence of the transaction is ever allowed to exist or to transpire: the juxtaposition of the two facts is all that is known (if even this): their connexion it is impossible to prove.—Again: take such a case as that laid opened by the second Report of the Rye Committee, where a Mr. Jeremiah Smith, friend and agent of the habitual member, had for twenty years kept a large number of the electors under the irresistible influence of chronic loans. It is impossible to say to a benevolent man, because he happens to be a professional lawyer or an ardent politician, ‘You shall never accommodate a needy elector with a loan.’ Nor can you prevent him from asking for the interest or demanding repayment of the principal at an inconvenient time, because that time happens to be the eve of an election. Nor can you prevent him from enforcing his legal claim, because his debtor is or intends to be a political opponent. Nor can you forbid him mercifully to forego or to postpone that claim, if his debtor makes friends with him by tacitly consenting to withdraw his opposition. You *cannot* prevent mutually willing parties from coming to a mutual understanding.*—Yet what

* You cannot prevent a political landlord from letting to a complainant elector for 10*l.* a house that is worth 18*l.*

conceivable system of corruption can be so fatal, so irresistible, so oppressive, so degrading as this? Mere bribery by a 5*l*. note sinks into innocence and harmlessness in comparison. A law, therefore, which severely visited the one because it could reach it, and gave impunity to the other because it could *not*, would be too inequitable to be sanctioned or enforced.

Again; the English public, in its feeling with regard to bribery, is much swayed by reflections which have been thus stated, and which, it must be admitted, are not without some weight. ‘Bribery—bad as it is—is only one of several bad influences which infest and vitiate electoral returns; it is by no means certain that it is the lowest, the most fatal, or the most corrupting; it is in some measure an antagonist to others; and if it be destroyed, and *no other purifying or protecting steps be taken*, it is far from certain that we shall have mended matters by our interference. We shall have paralysed the influence of the purse which, bad as it is, is sometimes placed in good hands and wielded in a good cause; but we shall have left rampant, triumphant, and unbalanced, the influence of the landlord, who can coerce by a threat of ejection from his farm,—the influence of the attorney, who has a thousand ways (most formidable to the poor and ignorant) of compelling compliance with his wishes,—the influence of the employer, who can menace an unmanageable voter with the loss of work and wages,—the influence of the demagogue, who can corrupt a constituency wholesale by an appeal to their lowest passions and their meanest interests,—the influence of the customer, whether elector or non-elect, who bullies and perhaps ruins, by the weapon of “exclusive dealing,”—and the influence of the local jobber, who bribes by a promise to consider, not the well-being of the empire, but the prosperity of “Sunderland” alone.

‘A politician of the last generation used to say, that “the custom of bribery was among the greatest proofs and instances of our individual liberties: that the very fact of having to purchase a man’s vote showed that you could not *take it*.” Now, without going so far as this, and not wishing to settle questions of degree and precedence between rival iniquities, we think it can scarcely be denied that more wrong is done, and more damage inflicted by intimidation than by bribery; that a man who is bullied or coerced into voting against his wishes is lower in the scale of degradation than a man who does the same thing for an adequate “consideration;” and that a man who offers a poor elector a price for his support which is agreed upon between them, shows at least a greater

‘ sense of decency—imperfect and mutilated as it is—than
 ‘ a man who compels him to yield that support for nothing.
 ‘ The one bargains, the other robs. Nearly the same thing
 ‘ may be said of all the other corrupt and illicit influences:
 ‘ they are all degrading to the constituent who submits to them,
 ‘ and all sinful in the partisan who exercises them; but the
 ‘ less they bear the character of *contract*, and the more they par-
 ‘ take the character of unjust, insolent, and cruel *pressure*, the
 ‘ more outrageous and wicked do they seem.

‘ It is foreseen, too, that when plain and simple bribery has
 ‘ been cured or reduced within the scantiest limits, we should
 ‘ have to be doubly on our guard against the increase of a dif-
 ‘ ferent, and a subtler, and perhaps in effect a more noxious
 ‘ species of corruption. If corrupt and low-minded voters still
 ‘ retain the franchise, they will still seek to sell their votes,
 ‘ though they will have to look for payment in a different coin.
 ‘ If candidates are not more stern and lofty in their integrity
 ‘ than heretofore, they will be exposed to temptations of another
 ‘ sort, even more difficult to resist, more easy to conceal from
 ‘ the world, and more easy to palliate to their own consciences.
 ‘ If they may not any longer open their purses to gratify the
 ‘ inferior class of electors, they will be expected to warp their
 ‘ principles to suit them. They will be urged to purchase votes
 ‘ as before,—and to purchase them at a far higher and more
 ‘ fatal price. They will be pressed, and often, we fear, induced,
 ‘ to lower their political creed, to modify and impair their
 ‘ genuine opinions, to “file their mind” (as Shakspeare hath
 ‘ it), to profess views they do not hold, to give pledges they
 ‘ cannot redeem, in order to obtain the suffrages of men to
 ‘ whom the suffrage ought never to have been vouchsafed.
 ‘ Now, if you *have* a purchasable and corrupt constituency, it
 ‘ is difficult to maintain that—being placed between the two
 ‘ alternatives—a greater sin is not committed, and a greater
 ‘ evil done by degrading your opinions to a low standard, and
 ‘ warping them to a bad one, than by the most lavish pecu-
 ‘ niary bribes;—that, in a word, it is not worse to purchase
 ‘ venal votes by the sacrifice of your truth than by the offer of
 ‘ your money. In both cases guilt has been incurred, and cor-
 ‘ ruption has been sanctioned and practised; but, in the former
 ‘ case the candidate comes into Parliament with damaged prin-
 ‘ ciples and fettered freedom, and, in the latter case only with
 ‘ an emptied purse. In the former case he has forfeited, in the
 ‘ latter he has purchased, the power of voting according to his
 ‘ own convictions.

‘ The truth is—and it is of no use to blink or deny a fact

‘ which, most assuredly, we have no wish to justify—that
 ‘ bribery has often enabled a senator of sound political prin-
 ‘ ciples and high character and capacity to be returned by a
 ‘ constituency notoriously bad, and incapable of choosing him
 ‘ on the ground of his merit or his fitness,—and to be returned
 ‘ in unfettered independence. Corruption has thus often stepped
 ‘ in to prevent the mischief which would otherwise have been
 ‘ inflicted on the legislature and the country by the choice of a
 ‘ corrupt borough. It has partially averted the bad conse-
 ‘ quences of having such bad electoral bodies. If, therefore,
 ‘ you extinguish bribery, and yet leave the bribeable consti-
 ‘ tuencies, you have effected only a questionable and imperfect
 ‘ good. If representation is still given to places filled with low
 ‘ and ignorant democratic voters, wholly undeserving of the
 ‘ franchise, and incompetent by character and education from
 ‘ exercising it for their country’s good,—while at the same time
 ‘ all pecuniary influence is successfully excluded,—they will
 ‘ naturally prefer low demagogic candidates as members. Such
 ‘ places will always vote for the wrong men, unless paid to vote
 ‘ for the right ones.’

Now without wishing to indorse the above considerations as altogether sound, we cannot be surprised that they, in addition to the other indisputable facts which we have adduced, should have indisposed the more reflecting among the public to press with stringent and exclusive severity upon the crime of electoral corruption, and should have brought us to the conclusion at which we confess that, after much perplexity and with great reluctance, we have arrived;—viz. that it is hopeless to extinguish bribery by direct penal enactments; that in framing such you cannot avoid confounding acts which are scarcely blameable with others which are scandalously wicked; that you can strike only the *least* injurious, insidious, and flagrant cases of corruption; and therefore that the public feeling—without the concurrence of which law is but a dead letter—will never sanction severity in the administration of a justice so indiscriminate and yet so partial. We must look for a mitigation or a cure, therefore, not in the multiplication or in the augmented stringency of statutes against bribery and treating, but in circuitous action and indirect arrangements in legislation, calculated to eradicate causes, and lessen facilities—in movements calculated as it were to turn the enemy’s flank.

For the reasons above alleged, we see no value in the plan suggested in two of the pamphlets placed at the head of this Article. Starting from the assumptions, which we readily concede, that the chief guilt of corruption lies at the door of the offerer,

not of the acceptors, of a bribe,—that if there were no money, there would be no bribery, and that the money spent in bribery comes in nine cases out of ten out of the pocket of the candidate,—the promulgators of these well-meant schemes propose that each candidate, whether successful or otherwise, should on the meeting of Parliament present to the Speaker a schedule of his election expenses, swearing or affirming on his honour such schedule to be correct and complete, and declaring moreover, that he neither has paid nor will pay, a farthing beyond the sum there set down; a sum which is required to fall within a fixed maximum, say 500*l*. It is alleged that such a plan would be perfectly effectual; inasmuch as any one making a false return, or violating his solemn declaration, would at once lose caste as a gentleman; and that, though few of the 658 senators now hesitate at all forms and disguises of electoral corruption, none of them will tell a deliberate lie, or break a public engagement entered into on his word of honour.—In the first place, we believe it would be utterly impossible to pass such enactment: in the second place, we believe that if passed it would be virtually inoperative. Neither the general feeling of the public, nor the moral sense of members, would bear it out. Candidates seldom know, or can know, how their money is spent; they are entirely occupied with canvassing and haranguing, and all the business part of the transaction is necessarily done by others. They could not therefore make out such a schedule of *their own knowledge*: they would merely indorse a statement presented to them by their agents,—which, of course, care would be taken to render strictly presentable. Then, though public opinion peremptorily forbids a gentleman to tell a lie, or to swear falsely, or to break a promise, it forbids with equal pre-emptoriness a gentleman to *shirk the payment of his debts*.* The money would still be spent; the debts would still be incurred; and if the law compelled the candidate to declare that he had not paid, and would not pay a farthing beyond the amount he had officially presented, i. e. *that he would not pay his debts*,—we may be perfectly certain that some ingenious and indefeasible means would be found of evading and outflanking the law. Either the surplus money would be advanced by others, and would filter back to them in some mysterious and subterranean manner, or public opinion would justify the candidate in making false declarations—in taking the prescribed oath in ‘a

* Another objection to this scheme is, that it could only reach the more common and open cases of corruption—mere bribery and treating in money and meat.

non-natural' or 'Pickwickian' sense, or with some mental reservation. In any case we are certain that the debts would be paid, because it would be *ungentlemanly* not to pay them; and the only thing we should have gained by our stringent enactment would be, that we should have made falsehood, under certain circumstances, a recognised and therefore a permitted necessity; we should have added another to the fatal list of exceptional cases, in which gentlemen may say what is not true without losing caste. For, sad as it may be, it is impossible to deny that there are such cases. What member of the University of Oxford loses caste by taking oaths which he has never kept, can never keep, and has not the slightest idea of keeping? What clergyman loses caste by declaring his entire and unreserved belief in thirty-nine articles, of which he only believes twenty-seven? Under the old system of Election Committees, what senator was scouted out of society as 'no gentleman,' for violating his oath 'to decide according to the evidence,' and deciding according to his politics instead? What juryman was dishonoured in the olden time for violating truth, in order to take a criminal from under a capital conviction? Or finally, in that profession which is supposed to be the soul of honour, what officer was ever degraded at mess for doing what every officer did—making a false declaration as to the sum which he had paid or received for his commission? In all these cases, as in the one which it is proposed to add to them, the question is, not whether the statement to be made is a lie or not—but whether it is a lie so necessary, usual, and understood, that public opinion will warrant you in telling it. As we have all along been arguing, it is in vain to enact a law of which the general conscience of society will not sanction the execution.

Another scheme for the diminution of bribery, on which some parties build sanguine hopes, is the prohibition of professional agency. We believe such a measure would be wholly* inoperative. It is quite true that a great proportion of the corrupt elections are managed by means of experienced agents, who are often attorneys. But how are you to prevent agency? You may, indeed, forbid avowed agents—publicly accredited agents. But you cannot prevent zealous votaries and skilful friends from acting as agents. It would be unbearable tyranny if you could. You cannot prevent candidates from employing such friends—from reposing confidence in them—from tacitly acknowledging their proceedings. You cannot distinguish between an *understood* and a recognised agent. All committeemen are agents; the chairman of the committee is generally the most active agent. Are you to prohibit committees? Who

then will do the material work—who superintend the needful arrangements of an election? For it is idle to suppose that we are arrived at that state when a theory will work of itself. And how are you to enact that no agent or committee-man shall be a professional man? Is the candidate to have no legal adviser? or is an attorney to be prohibited from taking any interest in an election? And if not, how are you to limit this interest to desire for the success of the *candidate*—cutting off all consideration for the *client*? The plain truth is, that in all these attempts to forbid what *will* be done, you are entering on a struggle with necessities, in which you cannot fail to be baffled and outmanœuvred. We recommend, therefore, that all endeavours to meet our gigantic foe directly in the face, by positive prohibitory enactments, be at once abandoned as futile and mistaken, and that success be sought in a wholly different direction. We make, however, three exceptions,—as to which we would indicate merely the principle of the measure we would introduce, leaving the form to be decided by men of practised skill.

I. Whatever laws we retain against bribery and treating, it is a matter not only of great importance, but of common decency and of absolute necessity, that these laws should be defined and certain, and that the interpretation and execution of them should be uniform. How far they are now from being so may be learned by any one from Mr. Pickering's able Pamphlet, and from some Parliamentary Papers issued during the Session just closed—especially Nos. 431. and 493. It thence appears that if the laws against treating, as interpreted and acted upon by some Committees of the House of Commons, were enforced, not ten Members out of the whole 658 could retain their seats; that one committee unseats a Member on the very same evidence, and under precisely the same circumstances, which induce another committee to declare another Member 'duly elected'; that such high authorities as Sir R. Peel, and Mr. C. W. Wynn, differed as to the legality of expenses incurred in conveying voters to the Poll; that the interpretation of the law by the Courts of Law is wholly at variance with that adopted by Committees of the House;—and finally, and to sum up all, not the most experienced Parliamentary Counsel can say with confidence what the law really is, nor with what degree of stringency it will be construed and enforced—especially as regards the enactments against treating. Now the evil of this uncertainty is two-fold: no Member, however pure he is, and may desire to be, can be at all secure that he will not

be unseated for corruption *;—and, therefore, no Member unseated for corruption is held to be morally culpable: he is merely one of the Galileans on whom the indiscriminating tower of Siloam fell. We would therefore urge in the most earnest manner an immediate revision of all the Statutes against bribery and treating, in such a mode as, if possible, to secure for them one uniform, sensible, and unvarying interpretation, and *to stigmatise nothing as illegal which is not morally reprehensible*,—so that public opinion and statute law may at last march hand in hand, and draw harmoniously together. Treating *cannot* be prevented: we would therefore permit *reasonable* refreshment to voters (as was done by the Act of 1667),—leaving it to the appointed tribunal to decide, if the question be raised, what is reasonable, and what may fairly be held to be corrupt. Expenses incurred in bringing voters up to the poll cannot be prevented, at least in Counties: it is therefore important to consider whether these, if reasonable, should not be formally legalised, as Sir R. Peel advised. Compensation to poor voters for the loss of their days' wages, *if genuine and not excessive*, so long as you have poor voters, the public feeling and the conscience of a generous candidate can scarcely be brought to regard as criminal or corrupt: it becomes therefore a question whether some fitting and avowed arrangement cannot be devised to meet so natural a proceeding. It is true that in all these cases, legalising what is right may open the door to what is wrong:—but by closing the front-door, as at present, you are compelled to leave the back-door open—a far more unguardable, easier, and, therefore, wider mode of entrance. Criminal action on the part of the criminally disposed you cannot prevent: do not, in the vain endeavour, forbid *all* action lest criminality should creep in:—for by so doing you confound innocence and guilt in one common and futile prohibition, and then whitewash the latter, while you bewilder and discourage the former.

II. It is strange that, while for twenty years the suppression of bribery and the purification of our constituencies have been the avowed objects of the Legislature, and while enactment after enactment has been proposed to carry them into effect, Parliament should never have adopted a plan which, in our humble judgment, appears the simplest, the justest, the most effectual of all. We have contrived various schemes, by which

* Mr. Pickering gives us many proofs of this; and the case of Mr. Strutt at Derby, (which he does not mention) occurs to our recollection as one in point.

the discovery of corruption is facilitated; we have empowered committees to question the Members themselves; we have ordained the infliction of a severe penalty (500*l.* fine) against both the giver and the recipient of a bribe, recoverable by any one who chooses to prosecute, and can bring home the deed; we have suspended the writs for some boroughs, and have disfranchised others altogether. Our enactments have been so Draconian that no one will put them in force and that all parties connive at their evasion; and our vengeance so indiscriminate that justice revolted against its execution. But we have never set resolutely to work to separate the guilty from the innocent, and to visit them with the natural, moderate, appropriate penalty of incapacitating them from future sin. We have never followed the principle of *disarming* the individual culprit. Why not try it now? As the law and custom at present stand, as soon as the petitioner has proved a single case of bribery against the sitting Members, or their agents, the case is closed: the decision is given, and the victory is won. No one has any interest in pursuing the matter further. A hundred more electors may have been bribed, but they escape detection and exposure. Instead of this, let us pursue a different course. In every case in which, by the decision of the Election Committee, it is proved that bribery has been committed, let a commission of inquiry and of judgment (similar to that which can now be appointed by the Crown, on an address of both Houses of Parliament) issue, *as a matter of course*, charged to investigate upon the spot the whole proceedings of the election in question; let every clue and scent be closely followed up, as detectives follow up the traces of every other crime; let every man convicted of having accepted a bribe (and *à fortiori*, of having offered one), in any shape, be *disfranchised for life*; and let every one convicted of *corrupt* treating be struck off the register for one election. There would be little difficulty in procuring evidence, compared with that which now exists; for a commission on the spot can ascertain many things, which a committee sitting in London cannot; and numbers who refuse to be instrumental in inflicting such a disproportionate and cruel punishment as a fine of 500*l.*, for an offence which few have yet learned to consider as a heinous one, will readily aid in a conviction entailing only the fitting and reasonable penalty of losing the suffrage which has been abused. The men thus disfranchised will command no sympathy; for they will have met only their just reward. They will be marked men, and, to a certain extent, disgraced men, for the future,—citizens who have degraded, and, therefore,

justly forfeited, their trust; and the separation, man by man, of the tainted from the sound, will not only purify the residual constituency, but will do more than perhaps any other measure could, gradually to create a truer and wholesomer moral feeling on the subject. It is true that such a law, like every other, would strike chiefly the more open, flagrant, and clumsy cases of corruption; it would hit the poor voter who takes money oftener than the rich voter who bargains for a place or a job; but it is chiefly among the poorer electors that bribery prevails; and rich men would ere long become ashamed to do what poor men were punished for doing. Now, let us ask ourselves, if a measure of this sort had been made part and parcel of the first Reform Bill, and had been steadily and righteously executed ever since—(and both these points might have been secured, had Parliament been really bent upon success)—what would have been the state of our Constituencies by this time? Would they not have been purified to an extent which would leave little to be desired, and nothing to be done? Would not twenty years of persevering expurgation have nearly eliminated the corrupt element from among us? And might we not now have been rejoicing in our recovered purity, instead of blushing—if we do blush—at our published shame?

III. One further change is essentially required. At present it is notorious that the tremendous cost of election petitions prevents many from being prosecuted and many more from being presented,—thus securing impunity to corruption in (perhaps) the majority of cases. Instead of this, let the House of Commons, as the proper guardian of its own honour, take upon itself the whole burden of investigating all charges made against the purity of any election,—with this proviso against malignant or groundless accusations:—that in case the petition is pronounced frivolous and vexatious the petitioners shall bear, as now, the expenses of the trial. By this means the inquiry would be taken out of the hands of the complaining party: it would become a public, not a private matter—a criminal prosecution, not a civil suit. The investigation would not then be dropped, as it now is, the moment that enough has been proved to unseat the sitting member, but would be proceeded with to the uttermost in the interests of patriotism and national morality. What is now a duel between two opponents would become a deliberate and public trial. Surely this plan would be far more consonant to the dignity of Parliament than the one that now prevails. Surely there is something strangely indecorous in a matter involving a high offence against the privilege of Parliament being treated as a question of disputed property between two litigants.

It is worthy of consideration whether every petition against the return of a successful candidate should not pray the seat for the defeated one, and every decision which unseats a member, *ipso facto*, seat his antagonist. By adopting this plan, two good objects would be effected: first, the *whole case*—the election—would be investigated, not, as now, one side only;—and secondly, the strongest possible motive to purity would be held out, since the party which was scrupulously pure and legal in its conduct would be certain of ultimate victory if its opponent was not equally correct. The strongest party would have no inducement to bribe, since bribery could only imperil its final success: the weakest would have no inducement, since in abstinence would lie its only chance. For the full and beneficial operation of this change, however, it would be indispensable that the law should be clear and equitable,—so that no candidate or party really wishing to remain pure should be made *constructively* corrupt; and that the administration of the law should be uniform and certain, so that guilt should not escape detection, nor innocence be balked of its vindication.

And this brings us to another conclusion: the vast importance, not to say absolute necessity, of remodelling or altogether changing the tribunals by which controverted elections are now decided. On this subject it is difficult to speak strongly enough, and yet one would think it should be scarcely necessary to speak at all. We earnestly recommend to the perusal of our readers the conclusive remarks of Mr. Pickering on this head,—especially p. 111—145. He observes:—

‘The extreme unfitness of the tribunal upon whose decisions the privileges of electors are made to depend, and the consequent uncertainty in the law, place the very existence of those privileges in the greatest jeopardy. The law, to which, in this country at least, we have been taught to look, as offering some guarantee for the preservation of our acknowledged rights, in this respect offers none. The decision of to-day forms no precedent for the decision of to-morrow; nor can it, while the constitution of the tribunal which has pronounced the decision is such as to render impossible any respect for its judgment. From that judgment, however, there is no appeal; and those who have been compelled to suffer by it, have not even the solace of knowing that it may form some guide for the regulation of their future conduct. Questions of the most difficult and complicated character, necessarily involving nice points of law, which those who have devoted a whole life to its study and practice would hesitate, without much time and thought to decide, are left to the determination of persons who are frequently unacquainted with the very principles on which they depend. It is no disparagement to the members of many a Committee of the House of Commons to say, that their whole lives and occupations have rendered them unfit for such a duty.’

We have in a previous passage referred to some specimens of the strangely various and utterly confusing decisions of election committees, and need add no more. Two modes of meeting the requirements of the case have been suggested: either would answer the purpose. The whole jurisdiction over controverted elections might be transferred to a Common Law, or a *Special* tribunal, which would be the most satisfactory arrangement as far as the public is concerned; or the Election Committees might be presided over by a Common Law Judge, the members of the House sitting as jurymen to try the issue of fact. This proposal is well and conclusively argued by Mr. Pickering.

When these changes have been introduced; when we have enacted a law against electoral corruption which every one can understand and which public feeling will cordially ratify; when we have secured a uniform interpretation and an impartial and steady administration of that law; when we have made controverted returns public prosecutions, and not private duels; and when we have provided for the separation of the guilty from the innocent, in place of confounding both in common disfranchisement or in common impunity, we shall have done all that we think can or ought to be done to extinguish bribery by direct and positive enactment. To make war upon it further and still more effectually we must look in another direction, and have recourse to more circuitous, but at the same time more radical means. Let us see if such may not be discovered in the purgation, modification, and redistribution of the Constituencies.

What we have to do, it is clear, is, as far as may be, *first*, to purge out, or swamp, or reduce to insignificance, the corrupt element in such constituencies as are retained; *secondly*, to suppress or reconstruct such as are incurably corrupt and are from their very nature peculiarly subject to undue and sinister influences; and *thirdly*, to consider if some plan may not be devised to collect the votes of electors in such a way as to minimise these influences. Let us speak of these in turn.

I. There is no doubt in the mind of any man, we imagine, that incomparably the most openly and universally venal portion of Borough Constituencies are the old freemen, so unhappily and weakly retained by the Reform Act of 1832. They were to a great extent created for the express purpose of influencing elections in former days; their notions of public morality were formed in or have descended to them from times when the standard was even lower than at present; and they—those of them, that is, who are not also householders—are notoriously the class to whom electioneering agents look for turning the scale at

the close of the day, if it should be found worth while to give them their price. Many of them have political opinions or at least predilections, but the majority are purchaseable against their predilections, and will seldom vote even in favour of them without the usual fee. It is true that these freemen are not always a very important portion of the Constituency numerically considered*; but they are quite sufficient to give a corrupt character to the elections, and a corrupt tone to the borough they infest. It is true also that statistics do not bear us out in tracing to them the main amount of electoral iniquity†; but we know that in no case are statistics so little to be relied upon for unveiling the whole truth; and we may safely, in this instance, trust the general, well-established, and uncontroverted public belief. The disfranchisement of the freemen is perhaps, of all steps which will be urged upon Parliament, the most clearly and indisputably right and necessary, and, added to the plan already suggested for pursuing individual cases of venality, will probably sweep away the most incurably corrupt class of electors.

We can never expect wholly to extinguish the bribeable element in a miscellaneous constituency; but it is obvious that the smaller proportion the venal electors bear to the whole number, the more insignificant and harmless, and virtually non-existent, do they become. If they are few and in a large constituency, it is only where the contest is very close indeed that they can attain any importance or consideration. Fifty bribeable voters in a constituency of 500 may sometimes be omnipotent; fifty in a constituency of 5000 can rarely be of the smallest weight or value. Having then, by the above methods, reduced them to a *positively* small number, it must be our next care to reduce them to a *relatively* small number: having made them few, we must proceed to make them insignificant. This will be done by enlarging the constituency through the introduction of a class of voters who, we believe, will be found, comparatively at least, incorruptible, and who are now the great desideratum in our electoral system,—we mean the more intelligent and respectable of the working classes. We need this element greatly: we are convinced that it is a far healthier and a sounder one than several that are now included within the pale. It is a

* For example, in Liverpool the registered electors are about 18,000: of these only 1,500 have no qualification *but* their freedom.

† Of 72 boroughs against which bribery has been proved in the last twenty years, 33 had retained the old freemen, and 11 had other classes of voters than the 10% householders. Ipswich, Liverpool, and Lancaster have been among the chief offenders.

great mistake to suppose that as you go lower in the scale of social rank you come to a more dependent or more venal class. We greatly question whether among all the labouring poor (except perhaps the agricultural peasants in some districts) you would find a constituent class so corrupt, so servile, so amenable to all mean and sordid influences, so devoid of real independence of character, so deaf to all higher sentiments and nobler motives, as many of those who now possess the franchise,—among the shopkeepers and lower class of 10*l.* householders. We must bear in mind, too, that, as a result of the vast development of industry and enlargement of the field of employment consequent on Free Trade and emigration, the labouring classes are yearly attaining a more independent—we might almost say, a more commanding—position. Servility—liability to bribery and bullying—will scarcely henceforth be their characteristic fault. That the mass of them will be easily misled,—that they will be imposed upon and used by bad and selfish men,—that sonorous and shallow declamation will often have more weight with them than sound argument,—that they will be often excitable, often unjust, and often foolish,—we at once concede. But we appeal to the experience of all who have had opportunities of comparison and judgment, whether, as a rule, it is not more easy to make the intelligent of the operative classes hear reason, weigh both sides of a question, admit the force of just considerations even when they tell against their own interest, listen to and be swayed by the loftier sentiments of magnanimity and equity,—than to produce a similar effect upon some classes far above them in the social scale. In the admission to the electoral franchise of considerable numbers of the right portion of the working-classes will be found, we believe, the best corrective and antagonist of the corrupt element now existing in both our town and county constituencies: the practical difficulty lies in a judicious selection,—in the discovery of the fit criterion. We developed on a former occasion at ample length, what we still deem unanswerable reasons against any large reduction of the present rental qualification. We showed that it would be unjust in principle, perilous in its operation, and retrogressive in its tendency; we explained that it would be not an admission of the working-classes to electoral power, but a transference of that power into their hands. There is another reason against such a sweeping measure, which ought at the present moment to have especial and conclusive weight with the public mind. It would give a greater stimulus to bribery and intimidation than any other scheme which the perverse and mischievous ingenuity of man could devise. It would

let loose a torrent of corruption against which all the barriers and floodgates of legislation would prove of small avail. By depriving property of its legitimate weight in the representation you would drive it irresistibly to its illegitimate resources. By placing the upper and middle classes in a minority of votes, you would almost compel them to recover their position by acting unduly upon other voters. Property and education and rank *will have* the preponderating share in government to which they are, or think they are, entitled; and if you deny it to them by fair and ostensible means, they will obtain it by unfair and underhand means. It is idle to imagine that they will submit to be eclipsed or overpowered. It is idle to imagine that they will abstain from organising illicit action, if you throw them upon this alone. The only consideration which induces any politicians, except the shallowest and the wildest, to listen for a moment to a scheme which would give to the labouring classes the majority of votes, is the conviction that those votes would be amenable to influences which the middle and upper ranks would wield. And what would those influences be? Who supposes in his heart that they would be confined to persuasion and political argument alone? Therefore we say,—and we say it without fear of contradiction or dissent*,—that any very decided lowering of the electoral qualification—such a lowering of it especially as would enable the present non-electors to outvote the present electors,—would, of all measures for extending, sanctioning, and systematising corruption, be the most surely efficacious and the most tremendously demoralising. But it is no such indiscriminate enfranchisement of the non-electors that we are advocating. We would admit those only whose possession of the qualifications which we suggested in our former paper†, proved that they deserved the suffrage, that they were competent to exercise it independently and wisely, and that welfare of the country and the harmonious action

* Even Mr. Cobden admitted this in a recent speech, when he said parenthetically, that any extension of the suffrage, *without the ballot*, would be an insult and a mockery.

† From a return presented on the last day of the Session, the number of *male* (individual) depositors of 30*l.* and upwards in Savings' Banks, are 135,933, and of 50*l.* and upwards, 77,621. Some of these will no doubt be 10*l.* householders, and already possessors of the franchise, but (from local inquiries which have been made) we believe not many. Some would be minors; but on the whole we incline to the belief that a 30*l.* *Savings' Bank franchise* would add upwards of 100,000, or *one-tenth*, to the existing constituency, and a 50*l.* franchise, about 60,000, or *one-sixteenth*.

of the constitution demanded that it should be conferred upon them. For it is not solely a question whether these men ought to be admitted, and may safely be admitted, to the franchise: the interests of society require that they be admitted. *We want them*: we shall be stronger for their support; we shall be wiser for their counsels; we shall be purer for their company. We need the best portion of the working classes to replace the bad portion which we are about to expel; we need a large infusion of fresh and wholesome blood from the lower ranks, to neutralise, dilute, and counter-balance that unsound and tainted element in the existing constituencies which we may not be able wholly to eliminate. Such men as the criteria we proposed would bring within the franchise, would be proud of their position: they would feel that they were admitted because they were deemed capable of a wise choice—they would exert themselves to choose wisely; they would feel that they were admitted because they were believed to be above a bribe and proof against a threat—they would spurn at the very suggestion of mean or mercenary considerations; the position they had earned so well they would be anxious to honour and adorn; they were chosen as being the *élite* of the working-classes: we are by no means sure that they would not become the *élite* of the constituency also.

II. To all that we said on a former occasion as to the theoretical propriety and justice of the *small-borough* representation we unreservedly adhere. But, unfortunately, it is too notorious that these boroughs are generally in a condition which, for the sake of electoral purity, imperatively demands their disfranchisement, partial or entire. Here again it is true that Parliamentary Statistics do not altogether bear out our conclusion. Of the 72 boroughs convicted of bribery between 1833 and 1853, only 21 can properly be called small—as having fewer than 500 electors,—while some of the more constantly and flagrantly impure places number their voters by thousands. Still it is well known to all who have been behind the scenes, that undue and demoralising influences of every sort are peculiarly rife in these small constituencies. They are universally admitted to be incurable. It could scarcely be otherwise. Where the place is small, it is proportionally *manageable*; a single great proprietor has overwhelming influence; a single active and unscrupulous attorney may get nearly all the voters under his control. In the case of a hot contest and a prolonged canvass, the most private concerns, wishes, and necessities of every elector become known to both parties, and every conceivable motive and pressure is brought to bear upon them. If

a man wishes for the addition of a field to his occupancy, the adherents of one of the candidates find it out and procure it for him; if he wishes to send a sick daughter to the sea-side, the desire is discovered and gratified; if he has a good-for-nothing son whom he wants to ship off for Australia, the business is managed for him by a zealous electioneerer; if he is timid and hen-pecked, his wife is insidiously hounded upon him; if he loves peace he is plagued out of all domestic comfort:—in short, the individual *persecution* of every elector is a matter within compass, and is skilfully and remorselessly conducted. There may not perhaps be as much money bribery as in towns where the old freemen prevail, but there is even more of various illicit and degrading influences, and less real personal freedom. In plain truth, and not to mince matters, the canvass and management of a small constituency is *dirty work*—work that makes a gentleman feel ashamed of himself and of his fellow-citizens—work that makes a man feel that he wants washing. There can be no doubt in the mind of any Reformer that in some way or other these small boroughs must be suppressed—that we must have, if possible, no more constituencies under 1000 electors.* How, then, are these small boroughs to be disposed of so as not to derange the balance of the Constitution, or to lose an element which produces certain practically valuable results in the House of Commons? They are about 60 in number, and return about 90 members. How are you to deal with them? Three modes

* Our experience in England on this head, is strongly confirmed by that of France. A letter just received from an eminent French statesman says:—

‘Mais je ne saurais trop vous faire remarquer l’influence qu’a exercé chez nous, et que doit exercer partout, je pense, sur les résultats du vote universel, la manière dont on forme les collèges ou réunions électorales. Quand les électeurs sont tirés de leurs villages et réunis par masses de un, deux, ou trois milles au chef-lieu du canton, comme cela avait lieu sous l’empire de la première loi de 1848, —ou même par fractions plus petites mais encore considérables, ainsi que voulait la seconde—l’influence que pouvait exercer les prêtres et les riches propriétaires sur l’esprit des électeurs est moins grande, et celle exercée par le gouvernement est presque nulle. Au contraire, quand l’élection a lieu par village, c’est à dire par petits corps électoraux de cinquante, soixante, cent, électeurs, le curé ou le riche propriétaire (là où il y a encore un riche propriétaire) peut exercer un influence plus grande, et l’influence du gouvernement redevient, surtout, tout à coup très considérable. Dans les deux élections de 1848, le grand nombre des électeurs, et surtout leur réunion en grandes masses dans les collèges électoraux du canton, rendit l’action du gouvernement absolument insensible.’

have been proposed. Disfranchise them (say the extreme reformers) and transfer their members to the most populous towns now unrepresented.* But a few moments' consideration will show that this proposition, though the one which first and most naturally presents itself to the mind, is wholly inadmissible. For, as we showed in a former paper, the large towns are already very much *over-represented* in proportion to their numbers, and such a transfer as is suggested would augment this disproportion to a formidable, unjust, and unendurable degree. In England the represented towns of more than 10,000 inhabitants, with an aggregate population of 6,660,000, return 206 members, while the counties, with a population (exclusive of the represented towns) of 9,770,000, return only 144 members.† At present this inequality is partially modified by the fact that the small boroughs, which approach in character to the counties, return 115 members;—but even if we add these to the county representation, we still have an urban population of under *seven millions* returning 206 members, while a rural population of above *ten millions* returns only 259, instead of 318, which it ought to do according to numerical proportion. But if the 115 members now returned by small towns were to be transferred to large ones, the balance would be utterly destroyed;—and if they be simply taken away without being transferred, the balance is still deranged, though not quite to the same extent. For example, you would leave Lancashire and Yorkshire as they are, but you would reduce Wiltshire from 18 members to 8, and Devonshire from 22 to 12. Another proposal is to combine several of these small boroughs into one constituency, or to combine them with other towns now unrepresented,—arrangements for which the

* It is curious to observe the contradictory action and arguments, to which the same party principles lead in contradictory circumstances. Among us, the democratic party contend for the transference of representation from small boroughs to large ones. In Massachusetts, the democratic party are contending for a precisely opposite change. A letter just received from a man of eminence in that State, says: 'Boston, and the larger towns in Massachusetts, have so uniformly given conservative votes in the legislature, that a convention, now making a constitution for us, has, by the union of two minorities, (the democratic and the abolitionist) just determined that the *smaller town and rural districts shall have, in proportion to their populations, about twice as many representatives as the cities.* But this is unjust, and it is doubtful whether the people will accept it.'

† The cities and boroughs enjoying the franchise in England and Wales return in all 337 members, while the rest of the population, nearly half as large again, returns only 159 members.

Welsh 'districts' and some of the Scotch 'burghs' afford analogy and precedent,—reducing some of them at the same time from two members to one. This was the plan proposed by Lord John's Bill of 1851. In some cases it might work well, and certainly presents the readiest solution of the difficulty. But much would depend upon the details of the arrangement. Some of the boroughs are so incurably and ingrainedly corrupt that they would form a very unfit and pestilential portion of any constituency, and would be apt to poison the whole. These ought to be left out of the new electoral system altogether. Others, not quite so venal, are still so completely under the control of personal and sinister influences, that to amalgamate them with neighbouring boroughs similarly exposed or similarly managed, would not be to create a pure, but only to enlarge a corrupt, constituency. If a selection of the best of the existing small boroughs were made, and these were, each of them, combined with two other towns now unrepresented and therefore unpolluted, and different in their circumstances and in the character of their inhabitants,—it is possible that a number of useful and unexceptionable constituencies might be formed;—nor do we see any vital objection to this scheme;—the eligibility of it, as we have already said, would depend on its details. We should however much prefer that *all* the boroughs thus formed by a combination of small towns, should be entirely *new*—now unrepresented, and therefore uncorrupted.—The third method proposed is to merge all these small boroughs into the county constituencies, by depriving them of their members and reducing the county franchise to a 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ occupancy. In this way the class would still be represented, and the individuals would still retain their votes, and the electoral lists of counties would be considerably modified and greatly enriched. This plan would, we think, be far the fairest and most desirable, inasmuch as it would give us constituencies large in number and varied in character, and therefore to a great extent secure against illicit and undue influences; and in order to avoid destroying the existing balance both between north and south and between boroughs and counties, *it would only be necessary to multiply, in something like a countervailing proportion, the number of members to be returned by the counties which contained the abolished boroughs.* For example, the 7 small boroughs in Wiltshire now returning 10 members being suppressed, the county should be divided into 3 or 4 sections, each returning 3 members, instead of, as now, 2 each returning 2 members. By this means something like a fit medium would be preserved, between the present inordinate number of representatives and the great reduction which would result from the

simple suppression of the condemned boroughs:—the county would return 13 or 16 members, instead of 18 as at present, or 8 as would result in case of simple suppression; and we should have a number of members representing large and miscellaneous constituencies containing some entirely new, valuable, and independent elements, such as the occupants between 10% and 50% in villages and small towns now unrepresented. We should also gain the advantage (the importance of which we shall speak of presently) of multiplying the cases in which a constituency has to vote for *three* members in lieu of *two*.

III. We have now to consider whether some plan cannot be devised for collecting suffrages at Parliamentary Elections, which shall neutralise, or defeat, or reduce to a minimum, the undue influences which now so extensively prevail. Two contrivances have been suggested for this purpose—the ballot, and voting papers. Let us say a few words on the latter suggestion first. We have nothing to add to the arguments in its favour which we adduced at considerable length in our former paper. But since that paper was published, the plan has been much discussed, and we have received many communications disapproving of it, and alleging the abuses which have attended it at parochial elections as a reason against adopting it in Parliamentary contests. It appears unquestionable that great abuses *have* attended it. A late election of guardians of the poor at Leeds afforded a flagrant example. An official investigation took place, when it was proved that frauds of all kinds had been committed,—that the voting papers had been collected by unauthorised parties, and had been destroyed by them; that papers had been suppressed or altered *after* delivery to the proper collectors; and that names had been entered and signatures forged in papers which had been delivered blank to the collectors. That such frauds should have been possible reflects great discredit upon those who had the conduct of the election, and neglected the simple precautions which would have precluded them. That such precautions should not have been prescribed and enforced by the law which enacted this plan of voting, and that no fitting penalties were provided against offenders, may be discreditable to the authors of that law. But that the prevalence of frauds so easy to be guarded against is any conclusive argument against the system of which they form no necessary concomitants,—is a conclusion which we cannot admit. Lord Shaftesbury, in the session just closed, introduced into the House of Lords a bill (which was most favourably received) for adopting the plan of voting papers at Parliamentary elections, and embodying a few

obvious and simple provisions against the possibility of such frauds as are alleged, to have occurred in parochial contests. That bill proposed to enact that each distributor or collector of papers should be accompanied (if required) by an agent in the interest of each candidate to see fair play; that he should be provided with a list in which he should enter or tick off each paper as delivered or received back; and that it should on delivery to him by the voter be at once dropped into a sealed bag or box, which should be opened only by the returning officer, and that the votes thus collected should be opened and counted on the appointed day in the presence of the candidates or their agents. It enacted, moreover, severe penalties against all forgers, or abstractors, or offenders of any sort, and also against any advice or canvassing by the collector or those who accompanied him. It appears to us that if these or similar arrangements were enacted and vigilantly carried out, such abuses as have occurred would be effectually prevented, or easily detected and severely punished. On this ground, therefore, we see no reason to rescind the opinion we expressed in favour of the plan.*

But some of our objectors allege further that it would be inoperative against undue influence; that it would not afford the protection it is supposed to afford to the timid voter; that many pusillanimous electors who now are absent from home or have a violent influenza or a sprained ankle on the polling day, and so escape voting against their convictions, would, under the proposed system, be compelled to vote; that they would be subject to domiciliary visits, and to intimidation of the most oppressive sort; and that bribery would be as rife as ever. To these representations we reply, — that we never recommended the plan as one that would affect intimidation, — which in truth it would leave much where it is, except that the bullying of mobs on the polling-day would be escaped; — but that it would greatly diminish bribery, inasmuch as it would entirely extinguish that bribery (the most prevalent and open of all) which takes place towards the close of the contest, when the issue is doubtful and hangs upon a few votes — since no one bribes unless success is both *uncertain* and *possible*. We recommended the plan not as one which would *extinguish* that element of a constituency which is subject to bribery and intimidation, but as one which would *reduce it to comparative insignificance* by vir-

* It is possible that the arrangements proposed in Lord Shaftesbury's Bill, may be found, when tested by practice, to be inadequate and imperfect; but, in that case, surely experience would soon suggest the needed supplements or alterations.

tually adding to the constituency a large number of sensible and independent but lazy or torpid voters,—which would diminish it a little *positively* and a great deal *relatively*. We recommended the plan, finally, as an arrangement which would both increase* and improve our constituencies—would both elevate and equalise electoral action. We see, however, all the possible difficulties which might impede the beneficial working of the plan, and we do not desire to adhere to it with unseemly pertinacity. Probably the wise arrangement would be to introduce it first into the elections for the Universities and for the ‘educated’ constituencies of which we shall have to speak presently, and to be guided, as to its extension, by its success in these experimental cases.

Twelve or fifteen years ago the Ballot was the favourite panacea of the more advanced liberals in Parliament, and it is even now regarded as infallible and indispensable by the Chartists and the extreme section of the radicals. But of late it has greatly lost ground in the estimation of philosophical reformers, and of the educated classes generally, as every one may assure himself by counting over those among his own friends who were formerly its zealous advocates, but who now have ceased to think it desirable, or have lost all faith in its efficacy. We do not admit the considerable number of votes which it still commands in the House of Commons as any proof to the contrary.† The ballot became the watchword of a party—a necessary tenet in the creed of radical candidates; and, like many other *articles de foi*, it has retained its position long after

* From a Parliamentary Paper (No. 106. 1853) we find that at the last election, 69 per cent. of the registered electors polled in county contests, and 82 per cent. in borough contests, the proportion increasing *inversely* in proportion to the size of the place;—varying from about 50 per cent. in Leeds and the metropolitan boroughs, 70 per cent. in Manchester and Liverpool, to 90 and 94 per cent. in Westbury, Taunton, Evesham, and Pontefract.

It is interesting to compare these numbers with those in France under the Constitutional Monarchy. Thus, in the six general elections that took place between the second and third revolutions—

	Reg. Elec			
In 1831 out of	166,582	125,090	voted, or about 75 per cent.	
1834	171,015	129,211	75	”
1837	198,836	151,720	77	”
1839	201,271	164,862	81	”
1842	220,040	173,694	79	”
1846	240,983	199,827	82	”

† On the last division, 172 voted with Mr. Berkely, and 232 against him.

all vital or active belief in it has died out; and of the private converts from it comparatively few have yet ventured on a public recantation. We could, however, name several with whom the ballot was formerly a *sine quâ non*, who would now deem it a step backward.

In most of the discussions which have hitherto taken place on this question, two points, essentially distinct, have been assumed to be inseparably connected—the desirability of secret voting, and the probability of the ballot-box securing the secrecy desired. We have a few words to say on each of these questions in turn. And; first, is secret voting desirable or not?

There is great strength in the plain broad position taken by the advocates of secret voting. 'It is (they say) a mockery and a cruelty, to give the suffrage to men whom you will not protect in the exercise of it. It is absurd to give the franchise to tenants and workmen, when you allow landlords and employers to dictate to them how they shall exercise it. It is deceptive to confer a privilege under conditions which make it a penalty, a danger, and a snare. It is scandalous to call upon a citizen for the performance of a public duty, and at the same time to allow him to suffer for the honest and conscientious performance of that duty. It is idle to confer votes upon men under circumstances which deter them from registering those votes.' We concede much of this. It is cruel and deceptive to give the franchise to men who cannot or dare not exercise it freely, and to render the simple discharge of an elementary civic duty a matter of peril or of loss. But it is by no means equally clear that we ought to look for a remedy in the direction of systematic secrecy. Secret voting is defensible only on three pleas: that it is necessary for the protection of the electors from bribery or intimidation; that it will effectually afford this protection; and that it will introduce no worse evils than it removes. Now, in the first place, we must bear in mind that the voters who need or desire this protection are every where a minority—generally a small minority—and certainly a minority which will be greatly reduced by the measures we have suggested, and by such as are sure to be adopted, for the purification, elevation, extension, and redistribution of the franchise. The disfranchisement of the old freemen will materially diminish the bribable electors; the abolition or combination of small constituencies will have a vast operation in disarming both intimidation and corruption; the removal of the corn-laws, and the consequent necessity under which the landed gentry find themselves of urging on agricultural improvement, and of seeking for skilful farmers instead of subservient ones, is daily rendering

tenants more independent of their landlords, and landlords less willing to part with good tenants, or put up with bad ones, out of political considerations; and finally, the combined effect of emigration and free trade, by altering the condition of the labour-market, by increasing the demand and lessening the supply, is rapidly emancipating labourers and operatives of every description from the thralldom of their employers, and may are long entirely reverse the relative position of the parties. The poor and the humble are every year becoming less liable to be coerced and less willing to be unduly influenced by the rich and great. The state of things which gave rise to the demand for secret voting and to a considerable extent justified the stress which was laid upon it, is fast passing away into the domain of history; and to enact the ballot now, would be to erect an inconvenient and perhaps dangerous bulwark against a subsiding flood—to administer an untried and possibly noxious remedy, for a disease which was rapidly dying out.

In the second place, we see no reason to believe that secret voting, even if perfect secrecy could be secured, would be an effectual protection to the voter who needs it, and we have never been able to meet with an advocate of the ballot, who could reassure us on this point. ‘A landlord who would otherwise be guilty of the oppression will not change his purpose because you attempt to outwit him by the invention of the ballot: he will become, on the contrary, doubly vigilant, inquisitive, and severe. “I am a professed Radical,” said the tenant of a great duke to a friend of mine, “and the duke knows it; but “if I vote for his candidates, he lets me talk as I please, live “with whom I please, and does not care if I dine at a Radical “dinner every day in the week. If there was secret voting, “nothing could persuade the duke or the duke’s master, the “steward, that I was not deceiving him, and I should lose my “farm in a week.’ If you conceal from the landlord the only proof he can have of his tenant’s sincerity, you are taking from the tenant the only means he has of living quietly on his farm. You are increasing the jealousy and irascibility of the tyrant, and multiplying instead of lessening the number of his victims. For, not only do you not protect the tenant who wishes to deceive his landlord, by promising one way and voting another, but you expose all the other tenants, who have no intention of deceiving, to all the evils of mistake and misrepresentation. The steward hates a tenant, or a rival wants his farm: they begin to whisper him out of favour, and to propagate rumours of his disaffection to the blue or the yellow cause: as matters now stand, he can refer to the poll-book, and show how he has

‘voted. Under the ballot this security is gone; and he is exposed, in common with his deceitful neighbour, to that suspicion from which none can be exempt, when all vote in secret. If, then, ballot answered the purpose for which it was intended, the number of honest tenants whom it exposed to danger would be as great as the number of the deceitful tenants whom it screened.’* Many of these remarks will apply equally to the case of shopkeepers, and artisans, and *employés*: it would be in the power of any malicious person to spread a report against any one whom he designed to injure, that he voted for this or that unpopular candidate; he could not clear himself, and would become an object of doubt and suspicion to both parties. Secret voting might possibly discourage bribery by making it impossible to ascertain that ‘value received,’ without which no Englishman likes to part with his money; but we believe it is the opinion of the most experienced electioneering agents, that our habits of corruption would soon accommodate themselves to the new plan, and that even under secrecy, bribery would soon become as rife as ever.

In the third place, it is by no means certain that the evils which secret voting would cause are not fully equal to those which it would cure. Its advocates lose sight of the important consideration—or perhaps keep it out of sight—that it would remove all the salutary as well as the noxious effects of publicity; it would neutralise the legitimate operation of public opinion, as well as the illicit operation of private pressure and intrigue; it would strike good and bad influences with equal impotence. It would leave the field open to the unchecked workings of every mean motive, and every private malice. No man with any shred or vestige of a character, now dares to vote against the candidate who represents his known political opinions because he has wounded his vanity, or crossed his pecuniary interests: under the shelter of secrecy he could do this with impunity. Many would be open to bribery then who dare not dream of such a thing now; many would be guided by personal motives then—by private pique or private affection—who *must* for very shame vote according to their conscience now; many shrink from public exposure who would not shrink from the secret sin. The usual arguments in favour of ballot presuppose a very false assumption—viz. that every man always wishes to vote according to his political professions, and his avowed party principles, and that fear prevents him from doing so;—whereas it is almost as often the case that he wishes to vote according to secret motives

* Sydney Smith's Works, vol. iii. p. 154.

or predilections which will not bear avowal, and that he is withheld by publicity from doing so. Secresy would no doubt enable many timid men to vote according to their conscience: it would assuredly enable many corrupt men to vote against their conscience. It would disarm one set of sinister influences to give free scope to another set quite as mean, quite as dangerous, and probably not much less general. In America we have ample evidence that such has been the case, and we have no reason to believe that it would not be the case here. Sir Charles Lyell was assured by a Member of the Mississippi Legislature 'that the repudiation of the state debt there, would have been carried in this country but for the facility afforded by secret voting. The same individuals who openly professed a more honourable line of conduct, must (he said) have taken advantage of the ballot-box to evade an increase of taxation, otherwise there could not have been so great a majority in favour of disowning their liabilities.' Another politician of high character and long experience in the United States, affirmed to Mr. Tremenhare 'that ballot was the parent of repudiation.' One page in the recent history of France is also worth citing as bearing upon this subject. Under the Constitutional Charter between 1840 and 1845, the votes in the Chamber of Deputies, as well as in the Electoral Colleges, were secret. In the latter year the impression had become so strong that this system, so far from securing honesty, actually promoted and facilitated sinister influences and low intrigues, that M. Duvergier de Hauranne proposed its abolition in the Chamber, and the substitution of open voting, like our own. Louis Philippe was greatly alarmed, and was vehemently hostile to the change, and insisted upon M. Guizot (then Prime Minister) opposing it. That statesman, however, took a different view of the subject, and urged that it would lead to more honest and therefore to more conservative voting. 'Je croyais,' (he said afterwards) '*qu'en déjouant beaucoup d'intrigues, de trahisons cachées, et en imposant aux partis politiques plus de fidélité et de consistance, ce changement tourneroit au profit du gouvernement que je dirigeais alors, plutôt que contre lui. Je me refusai donc aux instances du Roi; je laissai passer la proposition de M. Duvergier de Hauranne sans la combattre, en disant même tout haut que je l'approuvais. L'expérience me donna raison: le parti conservateur dans notre Chambre des Députés ne perdit point en nombre et gagna en fermeté.*'—It is curious that both parties, the liberal and the conservative statesmen, should have concurred in condemning, as leading to unconscientious voting, that very system

of secrecy which we are proposing to adopt, with a precisely opposite purpose and hope.

But putting aside all these considerations, and supposing that secret voting were desirable, will the ballot secure that secrecy? This is what its advocates have wholly and invariably failed to show. They have almost universally evaded this point of the discussion. They have never been able to make it clear that in popular elections secrecy could be secured by any machinery whatever—in this country at least. They have never fairly met the crushing logic with which Lord Brougham and Sydney Smith have addressed themselves to this vital section of the argument. In all small constituencies, as in the smaller wards or portions into which large constituencies are virtually divided, every man's political opinions—if he have any—are known to his neighbours, to his canvassers, to those interested in watching him. The more difficult it is for him to vote according to his convictions—i. e. *the more he needs the protection of the ballot*,—the more closely will he be watched and the more certainly will his real opinions be known. Under a system of secret voting, he will be assumed to have voted according to his opinions, and will be bullied and oppressed as much as ever. Now, disguise it as we may, in all cases in which secrecy is needed, viz. in the case of timid, dependent, bribed, or bullied voters, the ballot is only a machine for enabling a man to *tell a lie without being found out*—to say to his oppressor or corrupter ‘I voted for your candidate,’ when in reality he did not. But will it enable them to tell this lie with impunity? Far from it; it will only secure him secrecy on one day in the year. It will shroud him in a momentary darkness, which every other moment will betray. If the ballot is to be an effectual security to him, he must be unmarried; he must drink water; he must wear no colours, or must wear the wrong ones; he must take no part in political action or political conversation, or he must take a part systematically, laboriously, and skilfully deceptive; he must be silent, or he must be false, at the council board and over the counter, in the market and in the field, at the convivial table and in the confidential couch; he must be as skilful and unceasing a deceiver as a Russian diplomatist or an Italian conspirator. In fine, before the ballot can enable him to exercise the franchise with impunity, *he must become a man to whom no franchise can with safety be entrusted.** In no popular elections,

* * ‘The single lie on the hustings would not suffice; the concealed democrat who voted against his landlord (or aristocrat who voted against the mob) must talk with the wrong people, subscribe to the

except when the members are so numerous that individuals are lost in the mass, can we hear that the ballot is effectual in securing secrecy to each man's vote. It does not do so in the parochial elections in Marylebone; it does not do so, and is not even advocated as doing so, in the United States; it does not do so even in France now, if the constituencies are either small or subdivided. We call attention to the following remarks recently sent to us by one of the most eminent statesmen of that country, in reply to some questions we had addressed to him, as to the practical efficacy of the ballot—of which he is a zealous votary:—“ Vous n'ignorez pas, sans doute, que dans la première édition du *Plebiscite* du 2d Décembre 1851, Louis Napoléon avait ordonné que les citoyens se prononceraient sur le coup d'état par un vote public. Deux jours après, il a fallu revenir sur cette disposition, parcequ'on a vu que le peuple de Paris menaçait de se soulever si on touchait au scrutin secret. Depuis on a atteint à peu près le but qu'on se proposait, mais indirectement, par le vote au village. Vous devez bien comprendre, en effet, que l'efficacité ou la non-efficacité du *Ballot*, quant au secret, des votes, dépend beaucoup du déplacement des électeurs et de leur nombre. Quand on vote en village, et en très petit nombre, il est presque impossible de cacher à ses voisins comment on vote; quand, de plus, le scrutin est dépouillé par le maire ou par quelques autres habitans des villages, il ne se peut que les écrivains ne soient pas aisément reconnus. Le *Ballot* n'est plus, alors, un sauvegarde que dans les villes; il n'est presque plus utile à rien dans les campagnes.”

The examples of America and France are so constantly referred to in all discussions on the question of Ballot, that it is worth while to spend a few moments in endeavouring to ascertain what they amount to, and in what direction their lessons point. To begin with the latter.

Analogies, unless they are complete and perfect, are de-

wrong club, huzzah at the wrong dinner, break the wrong head, lead a long life of lies between every election; and he must do this not only *eundo*, in his calm and prudential state, but *redeundo* from market, warmed with beer and expanded by alcohol; and he must not only carry on his seven years of dissimulation before the world, but in the very bosom of his family, or he must expose himself to the dangerous garrulity and indiscretion of wife, children, and servants: and mere gentle, quiet lying will not suffice; the quiet passive liar will be suspected; and he will find, if he does not wave his bonnet and strain his throat in furtherance of his bad faith, and lie loudly, that he has put in a false ball in the dark to very little purpose.” (*Sydney Smith's Works*, vol. iii. p. 154.)

ceptive and misleading; and analogies between France and England seldom run on all fours. Indeed, no two countries can well be more dissimilar in national character or in social circumstances. England has the least, France has the most, centralised government in Europe. In England it is the influence of individuals in elections that has to be watched and guarded against: in France it is that of the Administration. England is a country of great proprietors, who exercise wide sway in their respective districts, and over their poorer neighbours: In France property is enormously subdivided—nearly every elector has a small estate—few of the gentry possess large ones: hence the influence of the upper classes is almost entirely a moral and legitimate one. Again, while corruption in the higher ranks of public life has prevailed in France to an extent long unheard of in England, corruption among electors, so rife here, is almost unknown there. We are assured on the very highest authority (and we have no reason whatever for doubting the assertion) that the offer of a bribe to a French peasant for his vote, would be held as an insult, and its acceptance as a crime.* But the essential difference between

* 'Quant à la question que vous me faites sur les opinions qui regnent dans notre peuple en matière de corruption électorale, je répondrais que la corruption, et surtout la corruption d'argent, lui a paru toujours déshonorante; qu'un électeur qui se ferait payer pour donner un vote serait vu du même œil qu'un témoin qui ferait acheter sa déposition. Un candidat qui m'était opposé dans une des luttes électorales que j'ai eu à soutenir, ayant été accusé, fort à tort, d'offrir de l'argent aux électeurs, cela lui fit un tort irréparable. Ses amis même n'osaient plus voter pour lui de peur de passer pour avoir été payés. Le fait est, qu'en matière électorale, le peuple a encore, en France, les avantages et les inconvénients de la jeunesse politique. Il est inexpérimenté, faible, quelques fois passionné — mais honnête. C'est en lui prêchant de fausses doctrines, en lui faisant croire à des progrès sociaux imaginaires, en flattant ses jalousies, ses haines — et non en lui offrant de l'argent — qu'on l'entraîne.' (*Extract from the Letter of a Liberal Statesman.*)

'La corruption directe et positive, l'achat des suffrages à prix d'argent, a toujours été, parmi nous, un cas très rare. Elle est si fortement réprouvée par nos mœurs qu'elle eût perdu tout gouvernement et tout parti qui en eût adopté la pratique. Elle convenait mal d'ailleurs à la nature de notre corps électoral. Quoique la plupart de nos électeurs fussent dans une petite condition sociale, ils avaient presque tous cependant une certaine mesure de fortune et d'indépendance; et il en eût coûté trop cher pour acheter, parmi eux, beaucoup de suffrages s'ils avaient été disposés à y consentir. Quelques actes honteux de ce genre peuvent toujours se produire; ils n'ont été chez nous que des faits isolés, sans importance politique.' (*Letter from a Conservative Statesman.*)

the two countries, to which we wish now to direct attention, is the extraordinary power and omnipresence of the government in France, and the manner in which it interpenetrates every position and locality; the degree to which every man, in every action and relation of private life, is at the mercy, and subject to the interference, of some bureaucrat, whose orders emanate from head quarters;—a state of things of which we have no conception here, and which goes far to explain the tenacity with which Frenchmen demand and cling to the protection of the ballot.

Another reason which led to the introduction, and which causes the high value set upon secret voting in France, and to which we have no analogy in England, has been thus stated to us by a most competent observer, whose words we prefer to our own. “*La France, depuis 1789, a été plusieurs fois dominée, tantôt par des pouvoirs révolutionnaires, tantôt par des pouvoirs despotiques, également violens tour à tour, et contre lesquels la lutte légale était impossible, et la résistance de fait très difficile et très périlleuse. Il en est résulté, chez les hommes modérés, chez les honnêtes gens, une disposition très craintive. Il leur semble qu’ils sont toujours en présence ou à la veille de l’anarchie ou de la tyrannie, et des réactions alternatives qu’elles entraînent. Il n’agissent librement, et selon leur raison et leur conscience, que lorsqu’ils se croient en sureté contre ces réactions et ces violences, à l’abri du vote secret. Il ne faut pas, vous le savez, mettre les hommes à de trop fortes épreuves. Le vote public eût été bien souvent, parmi nous, depuis soixante ans, une épreuve trop forte pour la plupart des honnêtes gens, car ils se seraient crus placés entre la vie et la mort. Tant de gens sont montés sur l’échafaud, pendant le régime de la Terreur, pour un suffrage ouvertement exprimé ou pour une signature donnée à une pétition! Bien qu’avant Février 1848, ces tems fussent déjà loin de nous, le souvenir en était encore très vif et très puissant, même dans les esprits les plus éclairés.*” We can well understand the eagerness with which men, the votes of whose fathers, and whose own votes in their youth, were given at the hazard of their life, cling to the protection of the ballot, without drawing thence any very cogent argument for its introduction into a country where dangers of this sort are removed by the distance of centuries.

We draw from the same document a third cause for the establishment and maintenance of secret voting under the Constitutional Monarchy, viz.: the small number of electors, which ranged from 166,583, in 1831, to 240,983, in 1846. “*Par rapport à la population du royaume, ce nombre étoit petit,*

‘ et il y avait dans l’arène électorale peu d’acteurs pour tant de spectateurs. Il en résultait pour chacun des électeurs une plus grande part de responsabilité ; au lieu de se perdre dans la foule, ils étaient, chacun dans le lieu de sa résidence, distinctement en vue et attentivement surveillé par le public. Et en même tems beaucoup de ces électeurs étaient dans une condition sociale trop petite et trop faible pour porter publiquement et sans embarras le poids de cette responsabilité. Il y a en France, vous le savez, très peu de grandes existences individuelles : dans la propriété territoriale, dans le commerce, dans l’industrie, dans la magistrature, dans le barreau, la plupart des existences sont petites et étroites. Non seulement elles sont petites ; elles sont, en outre, isolées ; en même tems que les grandes existences sont tombées, les liens qui unissoient jadis entre elles les petites existences ont disparu ; nous n’avons pas plus de fortes corporations que de grands seigneurs ; point d’individus puissans par eux-mêmes et à eux seuls ; point ou peu de liens entre les individus, quel qu’ils soient ; une extrême indépendance des petits envers ceux qui sont placés au-dessus d’eux, et un extrême isolement de ces mêmes petits entre eux ; — ainsi est faite aujourd’hui la société française. Le vote secret dans les élections a été la conséquence naturelle de ces faits : — notre système électoral ne nous donnait qu’un petit nombre d’électeurs ; notre état social ne nous donnait que des électeurs faibles et isolés ; notre état habituellement révolutionnaire ne nous donnait guère que des électeurs inquiets ou craintifs ; — ces trois causes ont également concouru à établir ou à maintenir chez nous le vote secret.’

In the United States, where vote by ballot is in frequent though not universal use, it does not appear that the citizens are much better satisfied with it than our Radicals are with open voting. It appears from the statement of Mr. Tremmenheere *, that the most scandalous abuses prevail in the details of its management — that no one has any confidence in the accuracy of its results — that the ‘judges’ or returning officers, who count and report the votes, frequently are, or are believed to be, under corrupt influence, and to falsify the returns ; and that, ‘in one notorious case, a candidate, whose known and staunch supporters numbered at least half the constituency, was beaten, according to the ballot-lists, by a majority greater than that of the whole constituency taken together.’ It is true that these abuses do not belong to the system, and might, and probably would, be altogether avoided in this country ; but they at least

* Notes on the United States and Canada, p. 117—121.

serve to show how questionable is the argument in favour of the ballot, drawn from its supposed useful operation in the United States.* Intimidation seems not to prevail at all there: it scarcely could in a country where an easy livelihood is always to be commanded by honest industry, and where difference of ranks is so little marked. But bribery *does* prevail, in spite of the ballot, and apparently in some quarters to nearly as great an extent as with us. In the year 1850, the Governor of the State of New York thus addressed the Legislature:—

‘The alarming increase of bribery in our popular elections demands your serious attention. The preservation of our liberties depends on the purity of the elective franchise, and its independent exercise by the citizen; and I trust you will adopt such measures as shall effectually protect the ballot-box from all corrupting influences.’

In 1851 the Governor had to repeat the same warning:—

‘The increase of corrupt practices in our elections has become a subject of general and just complaint. It is represented that, in some localities, the suffrages of considerable numbers of voters have been openly purchased with money. We owe it to ourselves and to posterity, and to the free institutions which we have inherited, to crush this hateful evil in its infancy, before it attains sufficient growth to endanger our political system.’†

It is remarkable that the ballot, even when adopted in the United States, is not adopted as a means of secrecy, or so managed as to secure secrecy. In the State elections at Boston, where intimidation was said to have largely prevailed, the ballot was introduced two years ago as a corrective of this evil. M. Tremenhoe thus describes the process which he witnessed:—

‘I went to two of the polling-places to see the process. Persons were in attendance distributing printed lists of the

* We extract the following from the private source to which we have already referred:—

‘That any man, [in the United States] who chooses, *can* conceal his vote by the mechanical means presented to him, I do not doubt. Indeed I know it can be done, and is done. But there are so very few who care for concealment, and so very few who wish to influence the votes of others from personal interest, that I think it a matter of very little practical importance. Undue influence, I believe, has *sometimes* been exerted. A man, however, would be ruined in general estimation, who could be proved to have exerted it by direct intimidation of individuals.’

† We believe, however, that Rhode Island and New York are nearly the only States where bribery is at all *prevalent*.

‘ candidates of the three competing parties. The voter took which list he pleased, put it into an envelope, and handed it to the persons sitting in a portion of the room parted off, who were appointed to receive it. *I saw no attempt at concealment or mystery; the voting which I witnessed was as open as if no envelope had been used.*’*

All these facts prove beyond a doubt, not indeed that the practice of America can be adduced *against* the ballot, but certainly that it cannot be appealed to in its favour.—On the whole, after a deliberate and impartial reconsideration of the entire question, our judgment is as clear and decided as ever against the ballot. Either a vote is a personal property or a solemn trust: if the former, it is difficult to prove that a man has not a right to sell it if he pleases;—if the latter, it is still more difficult to argue that it ought not to be exercised under

* The recent fluctuations of opinion in the State of Massachusetts on the question of secret voting having been appealed to in Parliament by both its advocates and its antagonists, it may be worth while to state succinctly the facts, from an indisputable authority:—

‘ Two years ago, the ultra democratic party united itself for special *local* purposes with the abolition party, and so obtained a majority in the legislature of that essentially conservative State. Thinking to perpetuate their power by it, they passed a stringent secret ballot-law. But it failed of its end; that is, the results of the elections which took place under it did not correspond with the expectations of those who passed the law; and last winter, in spite of it, the old conservative party obtained their wonted ascendancy, and repealed it. Meanwhile, however, a convention has been called to revise the fundamental constitution of the State, in which, by a similar combination of democracy and abolitionism, the same party that passed the law is in the ascendant. This convention, still in session, has inserted the secret ballot among the provisions of their revised constitution, thus placing the *principle* of the secret ballot beyond the reach of future legislatures. But the amendments they are adjusting to the constitution must yet be confirmed by the vote of a majority of the people, and some of the changes proposed may endanger the whole; in which case, the question will still be left open for legislation as it was before. In that event, however, I think the very next legislature will re-enact the secret ballot law of two years ago, because, though many persons, of whom I am one, object to it as an injury to the manhood of the electors; still, in its practical working, it was found of so much less consequence than had been anticipated, that I think the opposition to it will be ineffectual, and it will become the settled policy of the State. You will understand, of course, from what I have said, that the parties who passed the secret ballot law two years ago, have just as much confidence in it now as they ever had.’

the guarantee of a vigilant publicity. The ballot would not be an effective security for secrecy, and therefore would not be an effective protection to the voter. Even if secrecy could be ensured, it is far from certain that it would be desirable, since it would render impotent salutary influences as well as sinister ones. Finally, the protection of secrecy is becoming daily less and less necessary, as electors become more and more independent; and the impending Reform Bill will diminish this necessity still further. Vote by ballot would introduce new mischiefs at least as certainly as it would cure old ones: it is at variance with our national habits; it is at variance with our constitutional traditions; it may be pregnant with consequences which the most sagacious statesman cannot foresee, and which the most courageous statesman would not dare to encounter:—our voice is resolute against it.

Provision having been made, by the arrangements above discussed, for the purification and elevation of our existing and surviving constituencies, and for the suppression of such as are incurably and almost inevitably corrupt, we have arrived at the last branch of the problem before us—the possibility, namely, of constructing some electoral bodies of a competency above all question, and an integrity above all suspicion. We must bear in mind two or three important considerations. We must remember that the greater the *variety* we can secure in our constituencies, the more complete and perfect will be the representative character of our House of Commons; the more faithfully and successfully will it embody the thoughts, reflect the wishes, study the interests, and transact the business of the nation; the more effectually will inequalities be rectified, omissions supplied, and partial or local injustices corrected and countervailed. We must recollect, also, that the wholesale suppression of close boroughs by the Reform Bill of 1832, and the continuance of that process by the abolition of small constituencies, which must now inevitably take place, have closed the avenues by which two very desirable classes of public men formerly found their way into Parliament—young men, namely, of great promise both as to character and talent, who intend to pursue political life as a career; and thoughtful and experienced men, who are too moderate, philosophic, and free from party feeling to be acceptable to large constituencies, and too independent and inflexible to submit to the caprices or to do the jobs of small ones. All our great statesmen, and nearly all our valuable public men, entered Parliament originally as members for those pocket-boroughs which have been swept away; and most of them still prefer

* * *

such constituencies as come nearest to these extinct Edens. Lord John Russell is almost the single exception. He sits for London now — but he sat for Tavistock to begin with. Sir Robert Peel sat for Tamworth, with 400 electors; Lord Palmerston sits for Tiverton, with 450; Sir James Graham has sat for Dorchester with 420 electors, for Ripon with 370, and now sits for Carlisle with 1000; a Secretary of the Treasury sits for Westbury, with 300 electors; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer represents the exceptional constituency of Oxford University. The Secretary-at-War and the Secretary to the Admiralty alone sit for counties, and Sir William Molesworth for a large borough. Now it is quite clear that we cannot dream of restoring the old pocket-boroughs or Government seats; we cannot for a moment wish to retain the present small and corrupt boroughs; — yet neither can we, without loss and mischief, dispense with the class of representatives whom these places have been accustomed to return. We must endeavour, therefore, to discover some unexceptionable constituencies to supply the place of these abolished ones, and to do their work. We must remember, too, that while property and numbers are largely, and perhaps amply, represented, *learning*, as such, returns only four senators out of 550 in Great Britain; while education, literature, science, the higher intelligence of the nation, — surely a most important ingredient in the national life, — have no special representatives at all. If a scholar, a writer, a physician, a mathematician, happens to be a man of property also, he obtains the franchise, not in virtue of his proved intellect, but in virtue of his casual possessions: he votes for that qualification in which he resembles the mass of his fellow-citizens — not for that in which he is *ex hypothesi* distinguished from them and superior to them. But if he chances to be a lodger only, and not a householder, or if he is a poor man, or if he resides in one of the many hundred unrepresented towns, he has no vote at all. The men of all most surely fitted for the franchise are the men of all least surely endowed with it.

This is a state of things which unquestionably calls for remedy: the want we have indicated is certainly one which ought to be supplied. It has been proposed to effect these objects in the following manner*: — the purpose being, we must remember, to create a constituency of which every man shall be competent, and every man incorruptible — *which shall judge by a different standard from the usual popular electoral bodies*, be guided by

* See Pamphlet at the head of our article. Parliamentary Reform; the Educational Franchise.

different considerations, value different qualifications, seek a different sort of representatives. It is proposed to confer the franchise upon the following classes,—a franchise peculiar and independent of any which as individuals they may possess:—clergymen and regular dissenting ministers of any recognised denomination; solicitors, barristers, advocates, and Writers to the Signet; physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries; graduates of all the universities, fellows of all recognised learned bodies, and masters of inspected schools. These all to form one constituency,—90,000 in number it is calculated, and to return (say) 70 members. Not, however, to vote as one constituency; but for this purpose to be divided in certain proportions according to counties and districts: thus, Middlesex, Lancashire, and Yorkshire to return 6 each, Devonshire 2, Cumberland and Westmoreland 1 between them, and so on, according to a plan of which it is needless to discuss the details. The votes to be collected by voting-papers.

Now, we profess no adherence to the special form or details of this plan; but its principles and outline have our hearty approbation. In the first place, it is according to precedent. It has a nucleus and an analogy in the existing representation of the two ancient universities. Then, it offers us a constituency less liable than any other to be bewildered and led astray by temporary passion and disturbance, to share popular prejudices or popular predilections for or against individuals, or to fall in with the watch-word or fancy of the hour;—less likely to ostracise men of philosophic tempers and of distant vision, to discard a tried servant for a candid reservation, or an experienced statesman for a single lapse;—disposed to judge a candidate rather by his character and capacity than by his political opinions;—competent to discern, and willing to adopt, that sort of unobtrusive and unbending merit which is so little appreciated by popular bodies in general:—a constituency, in a word, which it would be needless to canvass, which it would be an honour to represent, which it would be possible to please without concealing one opinion or torturing another, and to retain without one base compliance or one unworthy art;—a constituency which would approach as near as is practicable to the ideal type of such bodies, in that it would select its members on public grounds alone, independent of all petty private personal considerations of fear or favour.

We cannot be too ‘tremblingly alive’ to the importance of maintaining for the House of Commons, that character of intellectual superiority which has hitherto distinguished it. The tone of the Press is higher, its ability greater, and its influence

far wider, than at any former period. A larger number of individuals judge for themselves in political matters than used to be the case, and are by education, information, and reflection qualified to do so. Under these circumstances, it would be a grievous pity, and a serious danger, were the great central arena for discussing questions of government and law to lose in any degree its wonted supremacy—were it to be discovered that sounder views, higher sentiments, more commanding powers, or more extensive knowledge, were brought to bear upon those subjects in other places than in the House of Commons—were it to be felt that Parliament did not invite and secure, or that constituencies did not choose, the mental *élite*—the *sommités* as the French call it—of the nation. Yet this danger is no fanciful chimera if, while we extend and lower the electoral basis, we do not also qualify our proceedings in that direction by the creation of some such constituencies of superior qualification as we have been here contending for. The advocates of popular rights will defeat their own object, if they oppose any measure which tends to raise the moral and intellectual authority of the popular representative body in the Legislature.

The proposed allotment of seventy members to such a new electoral body would, however, be altogether inordinate, especially as a further defect in the existing system still remains to be remedied. Thirty would be nearer the mark. But the *number* is a matter of very secondary consideration. Let us now proceed to the consideration of one more suggestion.

The last point to which we desire to call the attention of the framers of the New Reform Bill, is the desirability of making some provision for an adequate expression of the voice of minorities. On a former occasion* we explained, at some length, the evil incurred, and the injustice perpetrated, under a system which enabled the majority in each constituency—however small that majority might be—to return all the members, and thus monopolise the entire representation. We showed that, at present, these inconveniences are greatly mitigated and counterbalanced by the *variety* of our electoral bodies; some being large, some small—some agricultural, some manufacturing—some instinctively progressive and democratic, some instinctively conservative and slow. The probable consequence of any new Reform Bill—unless expressly foreseen and guarded against—will be to diminish this variety, and therefore to aggravate the evil and injustice in question,—especially if such reform should (as it almost certainly will) abolish small constituencies, and

* See No. 196. of this Journal (Jan. 1852), p. 270.

make any the least and most indirect approach to an enlargement or amalgamation of electoral districts. The larger and more homogeneous the electoral bodies are made, the more unjust and oppressive, because the more universal, will the monopoly of majorities become. The monopoly or exclusive representation of majorities is the virtual non-representation or exclusion of minorities—of minorities which by possibility may amount to *nearly* half the nation, and which probably will exceed one-third. It is evident that such a result as this can not be contemplated without anxiety and regret, and would not be endured without extreme and well-founded discontent. And a legislator, therefore, who should devise a plan by which the minority in each constituency should obtain its fair share, *without obtaining more than its fair share*, of the representation, would have deserved well of his country.

But here we have to meet an objection which is urged against us, *in limine*, by that school of politicians who look at the subject in an abstract, French, and *doctrinaire* fashion. ‘We do not (say they) recognise such things as *parties*—permanent majorities and minorities—in the State. The very essence of a free government is, that numbers should prevail: the will of the majority ought to give the law. It was so in all the free states of antiquity: it has been so in all modern ones, where a really just and defensible constitution has existed. The theory of liberty would be imperfect were it not so.’ Now, not to refer again*, to the masterly argument of Burke, showing that the paramount power and right supposed to reside in the decision of a mere numerical majority is a matter wholly of convention and arrangement,—not to remind our antagonists how constantly by constitutional forms majorities are set aside, and it is settled that in certain cases even the will of a minority should be preponderating,—and conceding, for the sake of argument (or rather to avoid a discussion which would lead us too far), that the decision of majorities *ought*, in ultimate resort, to be taken as the decision of the whole, and therefore to have the force of law,—we wish to point out that *the decision of the majority after the discussion of a law, and the decision of the majority in the choice of representatives who are to discuss that law, are wholly distinct things*; the analogy between them is imperfect, and therefore deceptive. In the democratic States of antiquity, indeed, such as Athens, where the representative system was unknown, where the whole people met in deliberative assembly to frame their own laws and to administer their own executive government, the

analogy was complete and true. Proposed measures or enactments were there discussed, recommendations were listened to, objections were heard and answered: *the minority were there fairly represented*, because they were present in *propria personâ*; there was, therefore, no injustice in requiring them to bow to the decision of the majority when given against them. In the same manner, it is perfectly right that in our House of Commons the minority should give way when outvoted, and cheerfully acquiesce in their defeat. But it will be obvious, on a moment's consideration, that there is a wide and indestructible difference between being not successful and being not heard—between being outvoted and being excluded—between being defeated after full deliberation in a legislative assembly and being denied a hearing and a seat in that assembly—between succumbing in the lists and being forbidden to enter them. Now, constituents at the poll are not a deliberative body: they hear no arguments; they decide no measures: they meet simply to determine by arithmetical calculation who shall be chosen to discuss and decide*;—and if minorities are altogether overpowered, suppressed, and virtually non-existent because non-apparent,—if they return no portion of the members,—their ground of complaint is, not that their candidates are outvoted in Parliament, but that they are not allowed to go there,—that their opinions are rejected, not *after*, but *before*, discussion,—that they are reduced not only to submission, but to silence. And their complaint is just. No litigant may grumble because judgment goes against him before a fair tribunal; but if his counsel is not allowed to enter the Court or to speak on his behalf, then assuredly he is the victim of a manifest injustice, and has a *casus belli* against the constitution which treats him thus.

The mode by which we propose to ensure the constituent minorities their fair share in the representation—*i. e.* to make the majorities and minorities in the House of Commons correspond as nearly as may be to majorities and minorities in the country or in the electoral bodies—is to give (as now) to each elector as many votes as there are members to be chosen, and to allow him to divide these votes as he pleases among the candidates, *or to give them all to one*. But, as at present most places return two members, it is obvious that, under the proposed arrangement, wherever the minority *exceeded one-third* of the total number of the electors, they would be able to return one

* The only parties who will be disposed to dispute our argument will be those who hold that members are merely the *delegates*, not the *representatives*, of their constituents.

member, or to obtain *one-half* the representation — which would be more than their fair share, and would place them on an equality with the majority — which would never do; while, if they *fell short of one-third*, they would be, as now, virtually unrepresented and ignored. To obviate this, it will be necessary so to arrange our electoral divisions that as many constituencies as possible should return *three* members: *one* of these a minority, if at all respectable, could always manage to secure. We believe that such an arrangement might be carried into effect in a great number of cases without any increase of the actual number of the House of Commons, since so many of the existing small constituencies will need suppression or absorption; and in a combination of the two plans would be found, to a very great and perhaps an adequate extent, a remedy for the mischievous injustice we are considering.* Where there was only one member, the minority would have no share in the representation at all. Where there were two members, the minority, if above one-third, would have too large a share; if under one-third, too small a share. Where there were three members, it would obtain its just share, and no more.

We cannot conceive any valid objection to this proposal — which we may call the cumulative vote; and it will be attended with one incidental and collateral advantage too important to be overlooked. It is this: the parties most likely to be returned by such minorities as our plan would enfranchise would be exactly the class of men most wanted in Parliament, and least able under existing arrangements to find an entrance there — those, for example, who were unpopular with the *masses* on account of some honest but unpalatable vote or opinion; those who sided altogether with neither of the extreme parties; those whose merits were too unobtrusive and too little *showy* to have been discerned by the multitude: those, in fine, who, not *generally* or universally appreciated, have few friends, but fast and zealous ones, and who therefore, though counting a minority of *voters*, might yet have a majority of *votes*.

With these suggestions we will bid adieu to the great subject of Representative Reform. We can leave it with perfect confidence in the hands of the statesmen to whom will be entrusted the construction of the measure which next Session is to inaugurate.

* This plan is sanctioned by the authority of the Committee of Privy Council in their Report on the framing of a Constitution for the Cape of Good Hope. See Lord Grey's Colonial Policy, vol. ii. p. 363.

gurate. We know that their popular sympathies are large and hearty, while long experience will have made them cautious in their temper, and a wide range of study will have made them comprehensive in their views. We have no fear either lest they should propose any undigested scheme which will impair the vitality or undermine the foundations of those essentials of our system which have stood the test and received the sanction of six hundred years, or lest they should shrink from any measure merely because it is a large one, if it lies within the analogies and harmonises with the spirit of the Constitution. And if they are able—as we think they may be—to devise a plan which, by eliminating all the corrupt social elements which can be purged away, and embracing all the sound ones which can be discovered and included, shall impose a long if not a perpetual silence on all feverish and distracting agitations, they will have deserved well of their country, and may take rank among the real benefactors of mankind.

Note to No. 199. p. 163.

From information which has been obligingly communicated to us since the publication of our last Number, we learn that the ring (purporting to be the Earl of Essex's ring) belonging to C. W. Warner, Esq. (erroneously printed *Warren* in our Article), and that deposited some years since at Messrs. Drummond's bank, are the same. At Maddersfield, in Worcester-shire, the seat of Earl Beauchamp, is a three-quarter length portrait of the Countess of Nottingham, with a ring suspended round her neck. It is, however, evident that, if the picture was painted in her lifetime, the ring suspended round her neck could not be Lord Essex's ring, inasmuch as she had, according to the story, concealed her possession of it until her deathbed.

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